Miscellanies

BY

The Right Noble LORD,
The Late Noble Marquess

OF

HALIFAX.

VIZ.

I. *Maxims of a* DAUGHTER.
II. *The Character of a* TRIMMER.
III. *The Anatomy of an* EQUIVALENT.
IV. *A Letter to a* DISSENTER.
V. *Cautions for Choice of* PARLIAMENT-MEN.
VI. *A Rough Draught of a* NEW MODEL *at* SEA.
VII. *Maxims of* STATE, *&c.*

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W. Oliver M.D.A.I.C.

Sacellum Appollinare.

A

Funeral POEM

[illegible]

M[illegible]Y

Great [illegible]

G[illegible]

Marquiſs of *HALLIFAX.*

AS HEAVEN it Self's on *Empire's* Axis roll'd,

(For *God-Head's* but *Dominion* Uncontrould;)

So the *Crown'd Head*, the Sublunary *JOVE*,
Does, in his Loyal *Orb* of *Glory*, move;
With all his *Bolts of Fate*, in his High-Post
Of *Sovereign Pow'r*, the Weilded *Thunder* boast.
But, in the highest tow'ring Flight of KINGS,
'Tis the Great *Statesman* [illegible] their *Eagles* Wings;
They move the Great MACHINE, *He* Sets the *Springs*.
And thus, whilst Pregnant EMPIRE's *Labouring Head*,
With some vast *Off-spring* Teems; the *Statesman's* Aid,
To bring the Fair Divine *Minerva* forth,
Is call'd the Great *Lucina* to the *Birth*.
Wisdom and *Counsel!* 'Tis their Min'string Ray,
Those Bright CROWN-*Genij*, Cheer th' *Imperial Sway*;

The

The *Harmony* of WORLDS is only Theirs;
Empire but Guides, 'tis *They* that Tune the *Sphere*;
Counsel, in Church or State, the *Warmth*, by Whom
Aaron's And *Moses's* Budding *Wands* both Bloom:
This MONARCHY, where tho' She Reigns *Alone*,
'Tis by her *Argus* Eyes She Guards her Throne:
Her *Lights* in Hundred, tho' her *Hand*, but One.

Of those Rich *Lights*, Great *HALLIFAX* shin'd there;
In *Pow'rs* whole *Constellation*, None more Fair:
In *Calms* or *Storms*, in every varying *Gale*,
The Furl'd, the Hoysted, or the Slacken'd *Sail*;

The *Helm* to Manage, or the *Mates* to
Cheer,
No *Pilot*-Hand cou'd ever Worthier *Steer*:
TRUST, the Magnetick *Load-Stone* of his
Soul;
And FAITH, and ZEAL, his *Needles* to
the *Pole*.

The Studied *World* was his Long *Theam*,
and All
The *Politick Movements* of the Mighty
Ball:
Yea, the *Old World* He had Perfom'd o're
and o're;
Nay, had there been yet *Unknown Globe's*
t' explore,
To give that *Head*, that *Reach*, those *Depths*,
their Due,
He had stood a Fair *Columbus*, for the *New*.

In

In SENATES, There, with all his
Brightest Beams,
Nut *Michael*, to th' Embattl'd *Seraphims*,
A Mightier *Leading* CHIEF: Oraculous
Sense!
Victorious *Right!* Amazing *Eloquence!*
All from this cleanest *Organ* sweetly Sung:
From that [illegible] ENGLISH *CICERO's*
Silver Tongue,
Well might Great TRUTH, and Genuine
Justice flow;
For he Lo[illegible] [illegible] he Tallit *Below*,
Up to *ASTRÆ*, Heav'ns translated
Pride,
Her Righteous *Ballance* his Great *Standard*
Guide.

In Redress'd *Wrongs*, and Succour'd *Rights*
APPEAL,
No Hand, in the *Judiciary Scale*,

More Weigh'd and Pois'd, than *HALLIFAX* alone;
Ev'n *Half* the Great *Tribunal*, was his Own.
But, in that more Exalted *Patriot-Cause*,
The Moulding of whole *Stamps Imperial*, Laws;
Then, when the whole *Divinity of Power*,
In her *Collective Strength* that Labour'd Hour,
In her All-wise Consulting *Providence*,
Sits down to New Fair *Creations* to Commence;
In that *High Work*, for the Great *FIAT* Fixt,
No Hand like *His*, the Sovereign ELEMENTS mixt.

This Fam'd GAMALIEL in the Great *State-Schools*,
Thus by unerring PRUDENCE Sacred Rules,

No

No wonder, on that *Cardinal Hinge* He
mov'd:
In *Pow'r-Craft* Skill'd, that Bold *Arts-Master*
prov'd:
The Great *Performing Part* He had Study'd
thro',
And no less Learnt the Greater *Duty* too,
The *Publick Spirit*, and the *Active Soul*,
More Lively *Warmth*, than e're *Prometheus*
stole,
Those *Champions* both of *Earth* and *Heav'n's*
Just Right,
Bound by their Great *Redemptor Tripartite*,
Their equally divided FAITH must bring,
Betwixt their GOD, their *Country*, and
their *King*.

In *Pow'r* and *Trust*, thro' his whole Life's
long Scene,
Never did *Honour* wear a Hand more *Clean*:

He from the *Israel Prophet's* Copy drew?
The Suppliant *Naaman* for his Grace might sue.
Distress, 'tis true, his Succour ne'r could lack—
But then her *Laden Chariots* must go Back.
No *Syrian Bribe* was on his Shoulders worn;
That *Tainted Robe* such TRUTH and VIRTUE scorn.
Thus, like the *Eden Pair*, Why is *Truth* drawn
A *Naked Beauty*, in Transparent Lawn?
Yes, 'till her *Innocence*, for Imp'rious *Gold*,
That Tempting, False *Hesperian Apple*, Sold;
'Tis from that *Fall*, Original *Blushes* came;
'Twas *Then* She wanted *Fig-Leaves* for her Shame.
A *Bribe!* That most loath'd *Thought!* Ev'n his whole *Roof*,
His humblest *Menials*, that Temptation-Proof,

(So

(So Fair their Leading LORD's *Example* ſtands)
Oblige with Frank *Full* Hearts, but *Empty* Hands.
His *Powers* in that *Generous Current* run,
As Providence reconciles Her *Ram* and *Sun*.
His *Favours* Cheaper ev'n than *Heav'n's* confer'd;
For, though, *like Heav'n*, th' Imploring *Pray'r* He heard;
Yet no *Thanksgiving Offering* Return'd:
To his Kind GOD, no *Gummy* nor *Incenſe* burn'd.
Ay, and 'twas Noble, brave! What can more high,
Than an *Unmercinary Greatneſs* fly?
If ought his *Obligations* muſt Delray,
He rather choſe that *Heav'n*, than *Man* ſhould Pay:

Yes,

Yes, with a Fair *Ambition*, Juſt *Diſdain*,
Scorn'd leſs than JOVE, his *Golden Show'rs*
ſhou'd Rain,
And aim'd ſo High, that *Fair Ambition*
now'd;
For *HALLIFAX* ſo *Scorn'd*, and JOVE
ſo *Show'r'd*:
Whil'ſt that vaſt *Affluence* Warm'd his *Fruit-*
ful Soyl,
'Till his *Rich Glebe*, and *Loaded Harveſt*
Pile,
With that *Increaſe*, that *Milky Canaan*
ſhow'd:
Proſperity thus Reap'd, where *Virtue* Sow'd.

NATURE and FORTUNE, *Here*, both
Rivals join'd,
Which to their darling *HALLIFAX*,
more Kind.

Should

Should heap the Ampler *Mass*: *Nature* her more
Refin'd, and *Fortune* in her *Courser Oar*.
The *World* but Smil'd, where *Heav'n* had Smil'd before.
Great Blessings, when by *Greater* MERIT shar'd,
(Not Providence's *Gift*, but her *Reward*,)
Are all *Heav'n's* Fairest *Blazon*, Noblest *Pride*:
Th' *Eternal* DISPENSATION *Justifi'd*.
The *Righteous Distribution* ought no less:
So Great 'tis to *Deserve*, and then *Possess*.

Nor in Proud *Courts*, nor *States* alone, that Great
Dictator! Ev'n in the DESPOTIC *Seat*,
In His own narrower *Domestic Sway*,
His *Houshold* Sweat *Penates* deckt so Gay;
To VICE, like *Hannabal* to *Rome*, that sworn
Eternal *Foe*; and VIRTUE's *Champion* born:

To

To his own *Filial Nursery*, so Kind
A FATHER, with those *Leading Ligths*,
He shin'd:
HONOUR, so Lovely by that *Pencil* drawn,
The Early *Phosphor* to their *Morning Dawn*;
So Fam'd his equally *Paternal Care*,
T' Instruct the *Great*, and to Adorn
the * *Fair*.

* *Abt Advice to a Daughter.*

Thus BEAUTY's *Toilet* spread to all Divine,
Her *Cabinet Jems* so Furnisht from That
MINE;
The *Virgin*, and the *Bridal Coronet*,
Were, by Kind *HALLIFAX*, so richly
Set;
VIRTUE and INNOCENCE at that
full View,
As ev'n th' Original *Eden Lanschape* drew:
All her whole *Hierarchy* of *Graces*; not
One least Enamell'd *Heav'nly Spark* forgot;
Each

Each *Star* in the whole *Feminine* Renown,
From *Cassiopæa's* CHAIR, to *Ariadne's*
CROWN.

In the Rich *Furniture* of that Fair MIND,
Those dazling *Intellectual Graces* shin'd,
To draw the *Love* and *Homage* of Mankind:
Nothing could more than his firm FRIENDSHIP *Charm*:
Cheerful, as *Bridal*-Songs; as *Sweet*-Suns, *Warm*;
And *Fixt*, as *Northern*-Stars: When e're He deign'd
The Solemn Honour of his *Plighted Hand*,
He stood a more than Second *Pylades*;
Unshaken, as *Immutable* DECREES.

But whilst these vast *Perfections* I Recount,
The *Heights* to which those Soaring *Glories* mount:
My

My *Muse* thus rapt into that *Cheerful Sphear*;
Is This her *Wailing Dirge?* her *Funeral Tear?*
For his *Sad* DEATH, to Draw his *Glorious* LIFE!
Paint *Lights* for *Shades*, and *Festoones* for *Grief!*
Are These the *Melancholy Notes* She brings,
Fit *Lyrs* to Tune the *Mournful Things* She sings!
Yes, the *True Mourner's* in th' *Historian* Play'd:
What's Present *Glory*, but Past *Delight* Display'd?
Counting what once was *Ours*, we need no more:
To Sum th' *Enjoyment* does the *Loss* Deplore.

Besides, What all our Sable *Cavalcade*,
To the Great DEAD, our Darkest *Funeral Shade?*

T' Illu-

T' Illustrious *Virtue*, Grief's an *Easy* Debt;
Her Glorious *Annales* but *Cheaply* Set:
She finds the *Diamond*, and *We* the *Jet*.

When *Learning*, *Wisdom*, *Eloquence*, Expire,
And the *Great* SOULS, (Sparks of *Celestial Fire*)
Back to their *Elemental Source* Retire:
To such *Rich* DUST, in vain we *Pyramids* Rear;
For *Mausoleum's* are but *Pageants* there.
What's a poor Short liv'd Pile of *Crumbling Earth*,
A *Mould'ring* Tomb, t' *Apollinary* WORTH?
Worth, that so far from such a *Narrow Bound*,
Spreads a *Large Field*! Moves th' *Universal Round*!
Fills every *Tongue*! Thus, what no *Urn* contains,
The *World's* the *Casket* to those *Great* REMAINS.

Nor

Nor let *Poetick Vanity* Rehearſe
Her *Boaſted Dreams*, Her *Miracles* of VERSE:
Think, in ſome poor *Recorded* EPITAPH,
That Shallow Page of *Braſs*, or *Marble Leaf*;
Or in ſome more *Voluminous Folio* Pile,
A *Davideis*, or *Arthur's* ſweating Toil,
Some Sacred WORTH's *Deathleſs Fame* t' Enſtal;
Rais'd by her *Lyres*, like the Old *Theban Wall*.
No; when *Great* NAMES ne'r Dye
That *Work* alone,
Is all a Fair *Creation* of Their *Own*.
True GLORY Shines by her *Own* Lighted *Beam*:
'Tis not the *Muſes's Song*, but *Muſe's* THEAM:

When

When in Great *HALLIFAX*, WIT's
Pantheon fell,
And *Death* now hush't that Silenc'd ORACLE;
From Fair *Eliza's* Hallowed* *Helicon*-Walls,
Methinks, I hear a Fatal *Summon* calls:
When, lo! the *Delphick* * SEER,
that *Reverend Bard*
Of Sacred *Literature's* rich *Fount*,
prepar'd
Th' Expiring *HALLIFAX*, in *Death*
to wait.——
No less Attendant on his *Funeral State*,
Fate to that ever *Honour'd* HEAD cou'd
owe:
LEARNING it self must shake, at such a
Blow.

* *Westminster-School.*

* Dr. *Busby*, who the same same *Day*.

But, tho' with all this *Mine* of *Learning* ſtor'd;
He *Liv'd*, and *Dy'd*, no Niggard of that *Hoard*:
Witneſs His own *Long* Pious *Founded* * *Files*,
Where *Nurtur'd* ARTS, by His *Auſpicious* Smiles,
Tune their *Young Voices* to the *Muſe's* Song,
Nerv'd by his HAND to *Books*, and *Virtue*, ſtrong.

* *His Free School Foundations.*

Thus, as th' Old *Iſrael Patriarch*, to his once
Illuſtrious *Twelve*, HE to His *Hundred* Sons,
His *Fruitful* CHARITY's Adopted *Race*,
(With all his Tendereſt *Diffuſive Grace*,)
Doals, with a True *Paternal Glory* crown'd,
His *Living* and His *Dying* Bleſſing round.

Yes;

Yes, from that *Hand*, the *Scatter'd Bread*
must fall;
He Furnishes those *Numerous Pencils*, all
To *Copy* from his Great *Original*:
Resolv'd, if possible, Resolv'd t' *Inspire*,
To this *Young Nursery*, His *Cherisht Choire*,
His own Rich *Soul*, their *Transmigated Fire*.

But, why (if 'tis not a too *Bold Offence*,
To dare *Expostulate* with OMNIPOTENCE,)
Why should Prodigious *Worth*, from th' *Orb*
it warm'd,
Snatch'd from the *Soyl* it cherisht, *Eyes* it
charm'd
From its *Deserted Charge*, unkindly Fly,
Quit th' *Earth* it Blest, Impoverish *Worlds*,
and Dye?
No, the Kind *Heavens*, in Mercy, to Rebate
That *Mighty Loss*, the too keen *Edge* of *Fate*,

Have circled *Virtue* in a *Fence* so High,
As stands so safe, it knows not how to Die;
But Founds its own Proud *Immortality*.
For, as some Lofty *Ceder*, long had stood
The *Land-mark* of the *Plain*, and *Glory* of
the *Wood*;
Till the Dread *Voice* of *Fate*, *Heav'n's* Angry *Blast*,
The *Bolt* of the Destroying *Thunder* cast,
All the tall PRIDE lies *Fall'n*.---- Yet still
some *Shoot*,
Some tender *Scion* from the *Sacred* ROOT,
By it's *Nutrimental* PARENT-*Succours*
fed,
Springs, Grows, Spreads, Flourishes; till
th' Uprear'd *Head*,
Do's t' all its Great *Original* HEIGHTS
improve,
A Second *Pearch* for the Fair *Bird* of
JOVE.

So

So may Great *HALLIFAX Himself*
Survive;
Thus *Fall*, and thus his *Deathless* Virtues
Live:
LIVE in his *Fair* SUCCESSION,
Ever Blest;
Whil'st *Honour* Builds it own *Rich PHÆ-*
NIX Nest.

THE

THE

THE Lady's New-Year's-Gift: OR, ADVICE TO A DAUGHTER.

Dear Daughter,

I Find, that even our moſt pleaſing Thoughts *will* be unquiet; they *will* be in motion; and the *Mind* can have no reſt whilſt it is poſſeſs'd by a darling Paſſion. *You* are at preſent the chief Object of my *Care*, as well as of my *Kindneſs*, which ſometimes throweth me into *Viſions* of your being happy in the World, that are better ſuited to my partial *Wiſhes*, than to my reaſonable *Hopes* for you. At other times, when my *Fears* pre-

vail, I ſhrink as if I was ſtruck, at the Proſpect of *Danger*, to which a young Woman muſt be expos'd. By how much the more *Lively*, ſo much the more *Liable* you are to be hurt; as the fineſt Plants are the ſooneſt nipped by the *Froſt*. Whilſt you are playing full of Innocence, the ſpitefull World will bite, except you are guarded by your *Caution*. Want of *Care* therefore, my dear Child, is never to be excus'd; ſince, as to *this* World, it hath the ſame effect as want of *Vertue*. Such an early ſprouting Wit requireth ſo much the more to be ſheltred by ſome *Rules*, like ſomething ſtrew'd on tender Flowers to preſerve them from being blaſted. You muſt take it well to be prun'd by ſo kind a Hand as that of a *Father*. There may be ſome bitterneſs in meer Obedience: The natural Love of *Liberty* may help to make the Commands of a Parent harder to go down: Some inward reſiſtance there will be, where *Power* and not *Choice* maketh us move. But when a *Father* layeth aſide his Authority, and perſuadeth only by his Kindneſs, you will never anſwer it to Good Nature, if it hath not weight with you.

A great part of what is ſaid in the following *Diſcourſe* may be above the preſent

ſent growth of your Underſtanding; but that becoming every day taller, will in a little time reach up to it, ſo as to make it eaſie to you. I am willing to begin with you before your *Mind* is quite form'd, that being the time in which it is moſt capable of receiving a *Colour* that will laſt when it is mix'd with it. Few things are well learnt, but by early *Precepts*: Thoſe well infus'd, make them *Natural*; and we are never ſure of retaining what is valuable, till by a continued *Habit* we have made it a Piece of us.

Whether my skill can draw the Picture of a fine Woman, may be a queſtion: but it can be none, That I have drawn that of a kind *Father*: If you will take an exact Copy, I will ſo far preſume upon my workmanſhip, as to undertake you ſhall not make an ill *Figure*. Give me ſo much Credit as to try, and I am ſure that neither your Wiſhes nor mine ſhall be diſappointed by it.

RELIGION.

THE firſt thing to be conſidered, is *Religion*. It muſt be the chief Object of your Thoughts, ſince it would

be a vain thing to direct your *Behaviour* in the World, and forget that which you are to have towards him who made it.

In a ſtrict ſenſe, it is the only thing neceſſary: you muſt take it into your *Mind*, and from thence throw it into your *Heart*, where you are to embrace it ſo cloſe as never to loſe the *Poſſeſſion* of it. But then it is neceſſary to diſtinguiſh between the *Reality* and the *Pretence*.

Religion doth not conſiſt in believing the Legend of the *Nurſery*, where Children with their *Milk* are fed with the Tales of Witches, Hobgoblings, Prophecies, and Miracles. We ſuck in ſo greedily theſe early *Miſtakes*, that our riper *Underſtanding* hath much ado to cleanſe our *Minds* from this kind of *Traſh*: The Stories are ſo entertaining, that we do not only believe them, but relate them; which makes the diſcovery of the *Truth* ſomewhat grievous, when it makes us loſe ſuch a Field of Impertinence, where we might have diverted our ſelves, beſides the throwing ſome ſhame upon us for having ever received them. This is making the *World* a *Jeſt*, and imputing to God Almighty, That the Province he aſſigneth to the Devil, is to play at Blindmans-buff, and ſhew Tricks with Mankind;

kind; and is ſo far from being *Religion*, that it is not *Senſe*, and hath right only to be call'd that kind of Devotion, of which *Ignorance* is the undoubted *Mother*, without competition or diſpute. Theſe Miſtakes are therefore to be left off with your Hanging ſleeves; and you ought to be as much out of countenance to be found with them about you, as to be ſeen playing with Babies at an *Age* when other things are expected from you.

The next thing to be obſerv'd to you, is, That *Religion* doth as little conſiſt in loud Anſwers and devout Convulſions at Church, or Praying in an extraordinary manner. Some Ladies are ſo extream ſtirring at *Church*, that one would ſwear the *Worm* in their *Conſcience* made them ſo unquiet. Others will have ſuch a Divided Face between a *Devout Goggle* and an *Inviting Glance*, that the unnatural Mixture maketh even the *beſt Looks* to be at that time *ridiculous*. Theſe affected *Appearances* are ever ſuſpected, like very ſtrong Perfumes, which are generally thought no very good Symptoms in thoſe that make uſe of them. Let your earneſtneſs therefore be reſerv'd for your *Cloſet*, where you may have God Almighty to your ſelf: In *Publick* be ſtill and calm, neither undecent-

ly *Careleſs*, nor *Affected* in the other Extream.

It is not true Devotion, to put on an angry *Zeal* againſt thoſe who may be of a differing Perſuaſion. *Partiality* to our ſelves makes us often miſtake it for a *Duty*, to fall hard upon others in that caſe; and being puſh'd on by *Self-conceit*, we ſtrike without mercy, believing that the *Wounds* we give are *Meritorious*, and that we are fighting God Almighty's Quarrel; when the truth is, we are only ſetting out our ſelves. Our *Devotion* too often breaketh out into that *Shape* which moſt agreeth with our particular *Temper*. The *Cholerick* grow into a hardned Severity againſt all who diſſent from them; ſnatch at all the Texts of Scripture that ſuit with their *Complexion*; and becauſe God's Wrath was ſome time kindled, they conclude, That *Anger* is a Divine Vertue; and are ſo far from imagining their ill natur'd *Zeal* requireth an *Apology*, that they value themſelves upon it, and triumph in it. *Others*, whoſe Nature is more Credulous than ordinary, admit no Bounds or Meaſure to it; they grow as proud of extending their *Faith*, as Princes are of enlarging their *Dominions*; not conſidering that our *Faith*, like our Stomach, is capa-

capable of being over-charg'd; and that as the laſt is deſtroy'd by taking in more than it can digeſt, ſo our *Reaſon* may be extinguiſh'd by oppreſſing it with the weight of too many ſtrange things; eſpecially if we are forbidden to chew what we are commanded to ſwallow. The *Melancholy* and the *Sullen* are apt to place a great part of their *Religion* in dejected or ill-humour'd *Looks*, putting on an unſociable Face, and declaiming againſt the Innocent Entertainments of *Life*, with as much ſharpneſs as they could beſtow upon the greateſt *Crimes*. This generally is only a *Vizard*, there is ſeldom any thing real in it. No other thing is the better for being *Sowre*; and it would be hard that *Religion* ſhould be ſo, which is the beſt of things. In the mean time it may be ſaid with truth, That this *ſurly* kind of *Devotion* hath perhaps done little leſs hurt in the World, by frighting, than the moſt ſcandalous *Examples* have done by infecting it.

Having told you, in theſe few Inſtances, to which many more might be added, what is not true *Religion*; it is time to deſcribe to you, what is ſo. The ordinary *Definitions* of it are no more like it, than the common Sign-poſts are like the Princes

they would repreſent. The unskilful *Dawbers* in all Ages have generally laid on ſuch ill *Colours*, and drawn ſuch harſh *Lines*, that the Beauty of it is not eaſily to be diſcerned: They have put in all the forbidding Features that can be thought of; and in the firſt place, have made it an irreconcilable Enemy to *Nature*; when, in reality, they are not only *Friends*, but *Twins*, born together at the ſame time; and it is doing violence to them both, to go about to have them ſeparated. Nothing is ſo kind and ſo inviting as true and *unſophiſticated Religion*: Inſtead of impoſing unneceſſary Burdens upon our *Nature*, it eaſeth us of the greater weight of our *Paſſions* and *Miſtakes*: Inſtead of ſubduing us with *Rigour*, it redeemeth us from the *Slavery* we are in to our ſelves, who are the moſt ſevere Maſters, whilſt we are under the Uſurpation of our *Appetites* let looſe and not reſtrain'd.

Religion is a chearful thing, ſo far from being always at *Cuffs* with *Good Humour*, that it is inſeparably united to it. Nothing unpleaſant belongs to it, though the *Spiritual Cooks* have done their unskilful part to give an ill *Reliſh* to it. A wiſe *Epicure* would be *Religious* for the ſake of *Pleaſure*; Good Senſe is the Foundation

of

of both; and he is a *Bungler* who aimeth at true *Luxury*, but where they are join'd. *Religion* is exalted *Reaſon*, refin'd and ſifted from the groſſer parts of it: It dwelleth in the upper Region of the *Mind*, where there are feweſt *Clouds* or *Miſts* to darken or offend it: It is both the Foundation and the Crown of all Vertues: It is *Morality* improv'd and rais'd to its height, by being carried nearer *Heaven*, the only place where *Perfection* reſideth. It cleanſeth the *Underſtanding*, and bruſheth off the Earth that hangeth about our *Souls*. It doth not want the *Hopes* and the *Terrors* which are made uſe of to ſupport it; neither ought it to deſcend to the borrowing any Argument out of it ſelf, ſince there we may find every thing that ſhould invite us. If we were to be hired to *Religion*, it is able to out-bid the corrupted World, with all it can offer to us, being ſo much the *Richer* of the two, in every thing where *Reaſon* is admitted to be a Judge of the Value.

Since this is ſo, it is worth your pains to make *Religion* your choice, and not make uſe of it only as a *Refuge*. There are Ladies, who finding by the too viſible decay of their good Looks, that they can ſhine no more by that *Light*, put on the

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Varniſh of an affected Devotion, to keep up ſome kind of Figure in the World. They take Sanctuary in the *Church*, when they are purſued by growing *Contempt* which will not be ſtopt, but followeth them to the *Altar*. Such late penitence is only a diſguiſe for the tormenting grief of being no more handſome. That is the killing thought which draweth the ſighs and tears, that appear outwardly to be applied to a better end.

There are many who have an *Aguiſh Devotion*, Hot and Cold Fits, long Intermiſſions, and violent Raptures. This unevenneſs is by all means to be avoided. Let your method be a ſteady courſe of good *Life*, that may run like a ſmooth Stream, and be a perpetual Spring to furniſh to the continued *Exerciſe* of *Vertue*. Your *Devotion* may be earneſt, but it muſt be unconſtrained; and like other Duties, you muſt make it your *Pleaſure* too, or elſe it will have very little efficacy. By this *Rule* you may beſt judge of your own Heart. Whilſt thoſe *Duties* are *Joys*, it is an Evidence of their being ſincere; but when they are a *Penance*, it is a ſign that your *Nature* maketh ſome reſiſtance; and whilſt that laſteth, you can never be entirely ſecure of your ſelf.

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If you are often unquiet, and too nearly touch'd by the croſs Accidents of *Life*, your *Devotion* is not of the right *Standard* there is too much *Allay* in it. That which is right and unmixt, taketh away the *Sting* of every thing that would trouble you: It is like a healing *Balm*, that extinguiſheth the ſharpneſs of the Bloud; ſo this ſofteneth and diſſolveth the *Anguiſh* of the *Mind*. A devout *Mind* hath the Privilege of being free from *Paſſions*, as ſome Climates are from all venomous kind of Creatures. It will raiſe you above the little *Vexations* to which others for want of it, will be expos'd, and bring you to a *Temper*, not of ſtupid *Indifference*, but of ſuch a wiſe *Reſignation*, that you may live in the *World*, ſo as it may hang about you like a looſe Garment, and not tied too cloſe to you.

Take heed of running into that common *Error*, of applying God's Judgments upon particular Occaſions. Our Weights and Meaſures are not competent to make the Diſtribution either of his *Mercy* or his *Juſtice*: He hath thrown a Veil over theſe things, which makes it not only an *Impertinence*, but a kind of *Sacrilege*, for us to give Sentence in them without his *Commiſſion*.

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As to your particular *Faith*, keep to the *Religion* that is grown up with you, both as it is the beſt in it ſelf, and that the reaſon of ſtaying in it upon that Ground is ſomewhat ſtronger for your *Sex*, than it will perhaps be allow'd to be for ours; in reſpect that the Voluminous enquiries into the *Truth*, by Reading, are leſs expected from you. The *Beſt* of *Books* will be direction enough to you not to change: and whilſt you are fix'd and ſufficiently confirm'd in your own *Mind*, you will do beſt to keep vain *Doubts* and *Scruples* at ſuch a diſtance that they may give you no diſquiet.

Let me recommend to you a Method of being rightly inform'd, which can never fail: It is in ſhort this. Get *Underſtanding*, and practiſe *Vertue* And if you are ſo *Bleſſed* as to have thoſe for your *Share*, it is not ſurer that there is a *God*, than it is, that by him all *Neceſſary Truths* will be revealed to you.

HUSBAND.

THAT which challengeth the place in your Thoughts, is how to live with a *Husband*. And though that is ſo large a Word, that few *Rules* can be fix'd to it which are

are unchangeable, the *Methods* being as various as the ſeveral *Tempers* of *Men* to which they muſt be ſuited; yet I cannot omit ſome *General Obſervations*, which, with the help of your own may the better direct you in the part of your Life upon which your *Happineſs* moſt dependeth.

It is one of the *Diſadvantages* belonging to your *Sex*, that young Women are ſeldom permitted to make their own *Choice*; their Friends Care and Experience are thought ſafer Guides to them, than their own *Fancies*; and their *Modeſty* often forbiddeth them to refuſe when their Parents recommend, though their *inward Conſent* may not entirely go along with it. In this caſe there remaineth nothing for them to do, but to endeavour to make that eaſie which falleth to their *Lot*, and by a wiſe uſe of every thing they may diſlike in a *Husband*, turn that by degrees to be very ſupportable, which, if neglected, might in time beget an *Averſion*.

You muſt firſt lay it down for a Foundation in general, That there is *Inequality* in the *Sexes*, and that for the better Oeconomy of the World, the *Men*, who were to be the Law-givers, had the larger ſhare of *Reaſon* beſtow'd upon them; by which means your Sex is the better prepar'd for

for the *Compliance* that is neceſſary for the better performance of thoſe *Duties* which ſeem to be moſt properly aſſign'd to it. This looks a little uncourtly at the firſt appearance; but upon Examination it will be found, that *Nature* is ſo far from being unjuſt to you, that ſhe is partial on our ſide. She hath made you ſuch large *Amends* by other Advantages, for the ſeeming *Injuſtice* of the firſt Diſtribution, that the Right of Complaining is come over to our Sex. You have it in your power not only to free your ſelves, but to ſubdue your Maſters, and without violence throw both their *Natural* and *Legal Authority* at your Feet. We are made of differing *Tempers*, that our *Defects* may the better be mutually ſupplied: Your *Sex* wanteth our *Reaſon* for your *Conduct*, and our *Strength* for your *Protection*: *Ours* wanteth your *Gentleneſs* to ſoften, and to entertain us. The firſt part of our Life is a good deal ſubjected to you in the *Nurſery*, where you Reign without Competition, and by that means have the advantage of giving the firſt *Impreſſions*. Afterwards you have ſtronger Influences, which, well manag'd, have more force in your behalf, than all our *Privileges* and *Juriſdictions* can pretend to have againſt you. You have more

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ſtrength in your *Looks*, than we have in our *Laws*, and more power by your *Tears*, than we have by our *Arguments*.

It is true, that the *Laws* of *Marriage*, run in a harſher ſtile towards your *Sex*. *Obey* is an ungenteel word, and leſs eaſie to be digeſted, by making ſuch an unkind diſtinction in the Words of the Contract, and ſo very unſuitable to the exceſs of *Good Manners*, which generally goes before it. Beſides, the *univerſality* of the Rule ſeemeth to be a *Grievance*, and it appeareth reaſonable, that there might be an *Exemption* for extraordinary Women, from ordinary Rules, to take away the juſt Exception that lieth againſt the falſe meaſure of *general Equality*.

It may be alledged by the *Counſel* retained by your Sex, that as there is in all other Laws, an Appeal from the *Letter* to the *Equity*, in Caſes that require it: It is as reaſonable, that ſome *Court* of a larger *Juriſdiction* might be erected, where ſome *Wives* might reſort and plead *ſpecially*. And in ſuch inſtances where Nature is ſo kind, as to raiſe them above the *level* of their own *Sex*, they might have *Relief*, and obtain a *Mitigation* in their own particular, of a *Sentence* which was given generally againſt *Woman kind*. The cauſes

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of *Separation* are now ſo very courſe, that few are *confident* enough to buy their *Liberty* at the price of having their Modeſty ſo expoſed. And for *diſparity of Minds*, which above all other things requireth a *Remedy*, the *Laws* have made no *proviſion*; ſo little refin'd are numbers of Men, by whom they are compil'd. This and a great deal more might be ſaid to give a colour to the Complaint.

But the Anſwer to it, in ſhort is, That the *Inſtitution* of *Marriage* is too ſacred to admit a *Liberty* of *objecting* to it; That the ſuppoſition of yours being the weaker *Sex*, having without all doubt a good Foundation, maketh it reaſonable to ſubject it to the *Maſculine Dominion*; That no *Rule* can be ſo *perfect*, as not to admit ſome *Exceptions*; But the Law preſumeth there would be ſo few found in this Caſe, who would have a ſufficient Right to ſuch a Privilege, that it is ſafer ſome *Injuſtice* ſhould be *conniv'd* at in a very few Inſtances, than to break into an Eſtabliſhment, upon which the Order of Humane Society doth ſo much depend.

You are therefore to make your beſt of what is *ſettled* by *Law* and *Cuſtom*, and not vainly imagine, that it will be *changed* for your ſake. But that you may not be

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diſcouraged, as if you lay under the weight of an *incurable Grievance*, you are to know, that by a *wiſe* and *dexterous* Conduct, it will be in your power to *relieve* your ſelf from any thing that looketh like a diſadvantage in it. For your better direction, I will give a hint of the moſt ordinary *Cauſes* of *Diſſatisfaction* between Man and Wife, that you may be able by ſuch a *Warning* to live ſo upon your *Guard*, that when you ſhall be married, you may know how to *cure* your Husband's *Miſtakes*, and to *prevent* your own.

First then, you are to conſider, you live in a time which hath rendred ſome kind of Frailties ſo habitual, that they lay claim to large *Grains* of *Allowance*. The World in this is ſomewhat unequal, and our Sex ſeemeth to play the *Tyrant* in diſtinguiſhing *partially* for our ſelves, by making that in the utmoſt degree *Criminal* in the *Woman*, which in a *Man* paſſeth under a much *gentler Cenſure*. The Root and the Excuſe of this Injuſtice is the *Preſervation* of Families from any *Mixture* which may bring a Blemiſh to them: And whilſt the *Point* of *Honour* continues to be ſo plac'd, it ſeems unavoidable to give your *Sex*, the greater ſhare of the Penalty. But if in this it lieth under any *Diſadvantage*, you are more than recom-

pens'd, by having the *Honour* of *Families* in your keeping. The Conſideration ſo great a Truſt muſt give you, maketh full amends; and this Power the World hath lodged in you, can hardly fail to reſtrain the Severity of an *ill* Husband, and to improve the Kindneſs and Eſteem of a *good* one. This being ſo, remember, That next to the danger of *committing* the Fault your ſelf, the greateſt is that of *ſeeing* it in your *Husband*. Do not ſeem to look or hear that way: If he is a Man of Senſe, he will reclaim himſelf; the Folly of it, is of it ſelf ſufficient to cure him: if he is not ſo, he will be provok'd, but not reform'd. To expoſtulate in theſe Caſes, looketh like declaring War, and preparing Repriſals; which to a *thinking Husband* would be a dangerous Reflexion. Beſides, it is ſo courſe a Reaſon which will be aſſign'd for a Lady's too great Warmth upon ſuch an occaſion, that Modeſty no leſs than Prudence ought to reſtrain her; ſince ſuch an undecent Complaint makes a Wife much more ridiculous, than the Injury that provoketh her to it. But it is yet worſe, and more unskilful, to *blaze it* in the World, expecting it ſhould riſe up in Arms to take her part: Whereas ſhe will find, it can have no other Effect, than that ſhe will be ſerved up in all Com-

Companies, as the *reigning Jest* at that time, and will continue to be the common Entertainment, till she is rescu'd by some *newer Folly* that cometh upon the Stage, and driveth her away from it. The Impertinence of such Methods is so plain, that it doth not deserve the pains of being laid open. Be assur'd, that in these Cases your *Discretion* and *Silence* will be the most *prevailing Reproof*. An *affected Ignorance*, which is seldom a *Vertue*, is a great one here: And when your *Husband* seeth how unwilling you are to be uneasie, there is no stronger Argument to perswade him not to be unjust to you. Besides, it will naturally make him more *yielding* in other things: And whether it be to *cover* or redeem his *Offence*, you may have the good Effects of it whilst it lasteth, and all that while have the most reasonable Ground that can be, of presuming, such a Behaviour will at last entirely convert him. There is nothing so glorious to a *Wife*, as a Victory so gain'd: A Man so reclaim'd, is for ever after subjected to her *Vertue*; and her *bearing* for a time, is more than rewarded by a Triumph that will continue as long as her Life.

The next thing I will suppose, is, That your *Husband* may love *Wine* more than is convenient. It will be granted, That

though there are Vices of a deeper dye, there are none that have greater *Deformity* than this, when it is not restrain'd: But with all this, the same Custom which is the more to be lamented for its being so general, should make it less uneasie to every one in particular who is to suffer by the Effects of it. So that in the first place, it will be no new thing if you should have a *Drunkard* for your *Husband*; and there is by too frequent Examples evidence enough, that such a thing may happen, and yet a *Wife* may live too without being miserable. *Self-love* dictateth aggravating words to every thing we feel; *Ruine* and *Misery* are the Terms we apply to whatever we do not like, forgetting the Mixture allotted to us by the Condition of Human Life, by which it is not intended we should be quite exempt from trouble. It is fair, if we can escape such a degree of it as would oppress us, and enjoy so much of the pleasant part as may lessen the ill taste of such things as are unwelcome to us. Every thing hath two Sides, and for our own ease we ought to direct our Thoughts to that which may be least liable to exception. To fall upon the *worst side* of a *Drunkard*, giveth so unpleasant a prospect, that it is not possible to dwell upon it. Let us pass then to the

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more *favourable part*, as far as a *Wife* is concern'd in it.

I am tempted to say (if the Irregularity of the Expression could in strictness be justified) That a *Wife* is to thank God her *Husband* hath *Faults*. Mark the seeming Paradox my Dear, for your own instruction, it being intended no further. A *Husband* without *Faults* is a dangerous Observer: he hath an Eye so piercing, and seeth every thing so plain, that it is expos'd to his full Censure. And though I will not doubt but that your *Vertue* will disappoint the sharpest Enquiries; yet few Women can bear the having all they say or do *represented* in the clear Glass of an Understanding without *Faults*. Nothing softneth the *Arrogance* of our *Nature*, like a Mixture of some *Frailties*. It is by them we are best told, that we must not strike too hard upon others, because we our selves do so often deserve Blows: They pull our Rage by the Sleeve, and whisper Gentleness to us in our Censures, even when they are rightly applied. The *Faults* and *Passions* of *Husbands* bring them down to you, and make them content to live upon less unequal Terms, than Faultless Men would be willing to stoop to; so haughty is Mankind till humbled by com-

mon Weakneſſes and Defects, which in our corrupted State contribute more towards the reconciling us to one another, than all the *Precepts* of the *Philoſophers* and *Diviners*. So that where the *Errors* of our *Nature* make amends for the *Diſadvantages* of yours it is more your part to make uſe of the *Benefit*, than to quarrel at the *Fault*.

Thus in caſe a *Drunken Husband* ſhould fall to your ſhare, if you will be *wiſe* and *patient*, his *Wine* ſhall be of your ſide; it will throw a *Veil* over your Miſtakes, and will ſet out and improve every thing you do, that he is pleaſed with. Others will like him leſs, and by that means he may perhaps like you the more. When after having dined too well, he is received at home without a *Storm*, or ſo much as a *reproaching Look*, the *Wine* will naturally work out all in Kindneſs, which a *Wife* muſt encourage, let it be wrapped up in never ſo much Impertinence. On the other ſide it would boil up into *Rage*, if the miſtaken *Wife* ſhould treat him roughly, like a certain thing called a *kind Shrew*, than which the World, with all its Plenty, cannot ſhew a more Senſeleſs, ill-bred, forbidding Creature. Conſider, that where the Man will give ſuch frequent Interruptions

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of the use of his *Reason*, the *Wife* insensibly getteth a Right of *Governing* in the Vacancy, and that raiseth her *Character* and *Credit* in the Family, to a higher pitch than perhaps could be done under a *sober Husband*, who never putteth himself into an Incapacity of holding the *Reins*. If these are not intire *Consolations*, at least they are *Remedies* to some Degree. They cannot make *Drunkenness* a *Vertue*, nor a *Husband* given to it a *Felicity*; but you will do your self no ill office in the endeavouring, by these means, to make the best of such a *Lot*, in case it should happen to be yours, and by the help of a wise Observation, to make that very supportable, which would otherwise be a *Load* that would oppress you.

The next Case I will put is that your *Husband* may be *Cholerick* or *Ill-humour'd*. To this it may be said, That *passionate* Men generally make amends at the Foot of the Account. Such a Man, if he is angry one day without any *Sense*, will the next day be as kind without any *Reason*. So that by marking how the *Wheels* of such a Man's Head are used to move, you may easily bring over all his *Passion* to your Party. Instead of being struck down by his Thunder, you shall direct it where and up-

on whom you ſhall think it beſt applied. Thus are the *ſtrongeſt Poiſons* turn'd to the *beſt Remedies*; but then there muſt be *Art* in it, and a *skilful Hand*, elſe the leaſt *bungling* maketh it mortal. There is a great deal of nice Care requiſite to deal with a Man of this Complexion. *Choler* proceedeth from *Pride*, and maketh a Man ſo partial to himſelf that he ſwelleth againſt Contradiction; and thinketh he is leſſened if he is oppoſed. You muſt in this Caſe take heed of *increaſing the Storm* by an *unwary Word*, or *kindling the Fire* whilſt the Wind is in a Corner which may blow it in your Face: You are dextrouſly to yield every thing till he beginneth to cool, and then by ſlow degrees you may riſe and gain upon him: Your *Gentleneſs* well timed, will, like a Charm, diſpel his Anger ill placed; a *kind Smile* will *reclaim*, when a *ſhrill pettiſh Anſwer* would *provoke* him; rather than fail upon ſuch occaſions, when other *Remedies* are too weak, a little *Flattery* may be admitted, which by being neceſſary, will ceaſe to be Criminal.

If *Ill-Humour* and *Sullenneſs*, and not open and ſudden Heat is his Diſeaſe, there is a way of treating that too, ſo as to make it a Grievance to be endured. In order to it, you are firſt to know, that naturally

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good Sense hath a mixture of *surly* in it; and there being so much *Folly* in the World, and for the most part so triumphant, it giveth frequent Temptations to raise the *Spleen* of Men who think right. Therefore that which may generally be call'd *Ill-Humour*, is not always a Fault; it becometh one when either it is wrong applied, or that it is continued too long, when it is not so: For this Reason you must not too hastily fix an ill name upon that which may perhaps not deserve it; and though the Case should be, that your *Husband* might too sowerly resent any thing he disliketh, it may so happen, that more Blame shall belong to your *Mistake*, than to his *Ill-Humour*. If a *Husband* behaveth himself sometimes with an *Indifference* that a *Wife* may think offensive, she is in the wrong to put the worst sence upon it, if by any Means it will admit a better. Some *Wives* will call it *Ill-humour* if their Husbands change their *Style* from that which they used whilst they made their first Addresses to them: Others will allow no *Intermission* or *Abatement* in the Expressions of Kindness to them, not enough distinguishing Times, and forgetting that it is impossible for Men to keep themselves up all their Lives to the height

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of ſome *extravagant Moments.* A Man may at ſome times be leſs careful in little things, without any cold or diſobliging Reaſon for it; as a *Wife* may be too expecting in ſmaller matters, without drawing upon her-ſelf the inference of being *unkind.* And if your *Husband* ſhould be really ſullen, and have ſuch frequent Fits, as might take away the excuſe of it, it concerneth you to have an Eye prepared to diſcern the firſt Appearances of Cloudy Weather, and to watch when the Fit goeth off, which ſeldom laſteth long if it is let alone. But whilſt the Mind is ſore, every thing galleth it, and that maketh it neceſſary to let the *Black Humour* begin to ſpend it ſelf, before you come in, and venture to undertake it.

If in the Lottery of the World you ſhould draw a *Covetous Husband*, I confeſs it will not make you proud of your *good Luck*; yet even ſuch a one may be endured too, though there are few Paſſions more untractable than that of *Avarice.* You muſt firſt take care that your *Definition* of *Avarice* may not be a Miſtake. You are to examine every Circumſtance of your *Husband's* Fortune, and weigh the Reaſon of every thing you expect from him before you have right to pronounce

nounce that sentence. The Complaint is now so general against all *Husbands*, that it giveth great suspicion of its being often ill-grounded; it is impossible they should all deserve that Censure, and therefore it is certain, that it is many times misapplied. He that *spareth* in every thing is an *inexcusable Niggard*; he that *spareth* in nothing is as *inexcusable a Madman*. The *mean* is, to spare in what is least necessary, to lay out more liberally in what is most required in our several circumstances. Yet this will not always satisfie. There are *Wives* who are impatient of the Rules of Oeconomy, and are apt to call their *Husband's* Kindness in question, if any other measure is put to their expence than that of their own Fancy. Be sure to avoid this dangerous Error, such a partiality to your Self, which is so offensive to an understanding Man, that he will very ill bear a *Wife's* giving her self such an injurious *preference* to all the *Family*, and whatever belongeth to it.

But to admit the worst, and that your *Husband* is really a *Close-handed Wretch*, you must in this, as in other Cases, endeavour to make it less afflicting to you; and first you must observe *seasonable hours* of speaking. When you offer any thing

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in opposition to this reigning Humour, a *third hand* and a *wise Friend* may often prevail more than you will be allowed to do in your own Cause. Sometimes you are dexterously to go along with him in things, where you see that the niggardly part of his Mind is most predominant, by which you will have the better opportunity of perswading him in things where he may be more indifferent. Our *Passions* are very unequal, and are apt to be raised or lessened, according as they work upon different Objects; they are not to be *stopped* or *restrained* in those things where our Mind is more particularly engaged. In other matters they are more tractable, and will sometimes give Reason a hearing, and admit a fair Dispute. More than that, there are few Men, even in this instance of *Avarice*, so intirely abandoned to it, that at some hours, and upon some occasions, will not forget their natures, and for that time turn Prodigal. The same Man who will *grudge* himself what is *necessary*, let his *Pride* be raised and he shall be *profuse*; at another time his *Anger* shall have the same effect; a fit of *Vanity*, *Ambition*, and sometimes of *Kindness*, shall open and inlarge his *narrow Mind*; a Dose of Wine will work upon this tough humor, and for the time dissolve it. Your

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buſineſs muſt be, if this Caſe happeneth, to watch theſe *critical moments*, and not let one of them ſlip without making your advantage of it; and a *Wife* may be ſaid to want *skill*, if by theſe means ſhe is not able to ſecure her ſelf in a good meaſure againſt the Inconveniences this ſcurvy quality in a *Husband* might bring upon her, except he ſhould be ſuch an incurable *Monſter*, as I hope will never fall to your ſhare.

The laſt ſuppoſition I will make, is, That your *Husband* ſhould be *weak* and *incompetent* to make uſe of the Privileges that belong to him. It will be yielded, that ſuch a one leaveth room for a great many Objections. But God Almighty ſeldom ſendeth a *Grievance* without a *Remedy*, or at leaſt ſuch a Mitigation as taketh away a great part of the ſting, and the ſmart of it. To make ſuch a *Misfortune* leſs heavy, you are firſt to bring to your Obſervation, That a *Wife* very often maketh better Figure, for her *Huſband*'s making no great one: And there ſeemeth to be little reaſon, why the ſame *Lady* that chuſeth a *Waiting-Woman* with *worſe Looks*, may not be content with a *Huſband* with *leſs Wit*; the Argument being equal from the advantage of the Comparison. If you will

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be more ashamed in some Cases, or such a *Husband*, you will be less afraid than you would perhaps be of a wise one. His *Unseasonable Weakness* may no doubt sometimes grieve you, but then set against this, that it giveth you the *Dominion*, if you will make the right use of it. It is next to his being dead, in which Case the *Wife* hath right to Administer; therefore be sure, if you have such an Idiot, that none, except your self, may have the benefit of the forfeiture; Such a Fool is a dangerous Beast, if others have the keeping of him; and you must be very undexterous if when your *Husband* shall resolve to be an *Ass*, you do not take care he may be *your Ass*. But you must go skilfully about it and above all things, take heed of distinguishing in publick, what kind of *Husband* he is: Your inward thoughts must not hinder the outward payment of the consideration that is due to him: Your *slighting* him in *Company*, besides that it would, to a discerning By-stander, give too great encouragement for the making nearer applications to you, is in it self such an undecent way of assuming, that it may provoke the tame Creature to break loose, and to shew his *Dominion* for his Credit, which he was content to forget for his

Ease.

Ease. In short, the surest and the most approved method will be to do like a wise *Minister* to an easie *Prince*; first give him the Orders you afterwards receive from him.

With all this, that which you are to pray for, is a *Wise Husband*, one that by knowing how to be a *Master*, for that very reason will not let you feel the weight of it; one whose Authority is so soften'd by his Kindness, that it giveth you ease without abridging your *Liberty*; one that will return so much tenderness for your *just Esteem* of him, that you will never want *power*, though you will seldom care to use it. Such a *Husband* is as much above all the other Kinds of them, as a *rational subjection* to a Prince, great in himself, is to be preferr'd before the disquiet and uneasiness of *Unlimited Liberty*.

Before I leave this Head, I must add a little concerning your *Behaviour* to your *Husband's Friends*, which requireth the most refined part of your Understanding to acquit your self well of it. You are to study how to live with them with more care than you are to apply to any other part of your Life; especially at first, that you may not stumble at the first setting out. The *Family* into which you are grafted will

will generally be apt to expect, that like a Stranger in a Foreign Country, you should conform to their Methods, and not bring in a new Model by your own Authority. The *Friends* in such a Case are tempted to rise up in Arms as against an unlawful Invasion, so that you are with the utmost Caution to avoid the least appearances of any thing of this Kind. And that you may with less difficulty afterwards give your Directions, be sure at first to receive them from your *Husband's* Friends. Gain them to you by early applying to them, and they will be so satisfied, that as nothing is more thankful than Pride, when it is complied with, they will strive which of them shall most recommend you; and when they have helped you to take Root in your *Husband's* good Opinion, you will have less dependence upon theirs, though you must not neglect any reasonable means of preserving it. You are to consider, that a Man govern'd by his *Friends*, is very easily inflamed by them; and that one who is not so, will yet for his own sake expect to have them consider'd. It is easily improved to a point of Honour in a *Husband*, not to have his *Relations* neglected; and nothing is more dangerous, than to raise an Objection, which is grounded upon

on *Pride*? It is the most stubborn and last-ing Passion we are subject to, and where it is the first cause of the *War*, it is very hard to make a secure *Peace*. Your *Caution* in this is of the last importance to you.

And that you may the better succeed in it, carry a strict Eye upon the *Impertinence* of your *Servants*; take heed that their *Ill-humour* may not engage you to take Exceptions, or their too much assuming in small matters, raise Consequences which may bring you under great Disadvantage. Remember that in the case of a *Royal Bride*, those about her are generally so far suspected to bring in a Foreign Interest, that in most Countries they are insensibly reduced to a very small number, and those of so low a Figure, that it doth not admit the being *Jealous* of them. In little and in the Proportion, this may be the Case of every *New married Woman*, and therefore it may be more adviseable for you, to gain the *Servants* you find in a Family, than to tie your self too fast to those you carry into it.

You are not to overlook these small Reflections, because they may appear low and inconsiderable; for it may be said, that as the *greatest streams* are made up of the *small drops* at the head of the Springs from whence they are derived, so the *greater circum-*

circumstances of your Life, will be in some degree directed by these seeming *trifles*, which having the advantage of being the first acts of it, have a greater effect than singly in their own nature they could pretend to.

I will conclude this Article with my Advice, That you would, as much as Nature will give you leave, endeavour to forget the great *Indulgence* you have found at home. After such a gentle Discipline as you have been under, every thing you dislike will seem the harsher to you. The tenderness we have had for you, *My Dear*, is of another nature, peculiar to kind Parents, and differing from that which you will meet with first in any Family into which you shall be transplanted; and yet they may be very kind too, and afford no justifiable reason to you to complain. You must not be frighted with the first Appearances of a *differing Scene*; for when you are used to it, you may like the House you go to, better than that you left; and your *Husband's* Kindness will have so much advantage of ours, that we shall yield up all *Competition*, and as well as we love you, be very well contented to Surrender to such a *Rival*.

HOUSE, FAMILY, and CHILDREN.

YOU must lay before you, *My Dear*, there are degrees of Care to recommend your self to the World in the several parts of your Life. In many things, though the doing them well may raise your *Credit* and *Esteem*, yet the omission of them would draw no immediate reproach upon you: In others, where your duty is more particularly applyed, the *neglect* of them is amongst those Faults which are not forgiven, and will bring you under a *Censure*, which will be much a heavier thing than the trouble you would avoid. Of this kind is the *Government* of your *House*, *Family*, and *Children*, which since it is the Province allotted to your Sex, and that the *discharging it well*, will for that reason be expected from you, if you either desert it out of *Lazineſs*, or manage it ill for *want of skill*, instead of a *Help* you will be an *Incumbrance* to the *Family* where you are placed.

I must tell you, that no *respect* is lasting, but that which is produced by our being in some degree useful to those that pay it. Where that faileth, the Homage and the

Reverence go along with it, and fly to others where ſomething may be expected in exchange for them. And upon this principle the *reſpects* even of the *Children* and the *Servants* will not ſtay with one that doth not think them worth their Care, and the old *Houſe-keeper* ſhall make a better Figure in the Family, than the *Lady* with all her fine Cloaths, if ſhe wilfully relinquiſhes her Title to the *Government*. Therefore take heed of carrying your *good Breeding* to ſuch a height, as to be good for nothing, and to be proud of it. Some think it hath a great Air to be above troubling their thoughts with ſuch ordinary things as their *Houſe* and *Family*; others dare not admit *Cares* for fear they ſhould haſten *Wrinkles*? miſtaken *Pride* maketh ſome think they muſt keep themſelves up, and not deſcend to theſe Duties, which do not ſeem enough refined for great *Ladies* to be imploy'd in; forgetting all this while, that it is more than the greateſt *Princes* can do, at once to preſerve reſpect, and to neglect their Buſineſs. No *Age* ever erected *Altars* to *inſignificant Gods*; they had all ſome quality applied to them to draw *worſhip* from *Mankind*; this maketh it the more unreaſonable for a *Lady* to expect to be conſider'd, and at the ſame time reſolve

reſolve not to deſerve it. *Good looks* alone will not do; they are not ſuch a laſting *Tenure*, as to be relied upon; and if they ſhould ſtay longer than they uſually do, it will by no means be ſafe to depend upon them: For when time hath abated the violence of the firſt liking, and that the *Napp* is a little worn off, though ſtill a good degree of kindneſs may remain, Men recover their ſight which before might be dazell'd, and allow themſelves to object as well as to admire.

In ſuch a Caſe, when a *Husband* ſeeth an empty airy thing ſail up and down the Houſe to no kind of purpoſe, and look as if ſhe came thither only to make a Viſit. When he findeth that after her *Emptineſs* hath been extreme buſie about ſome very ſenſeleſs thing, ſhe eats her Breakfaſt half an hour before Dinner, to be at greater liberty to afflict the Company with her Diſcourſe; then calleth for her Coach, that ſhe may trouble her Acquaintance, who are already cloy'd with her: And having ſome *proper Dialogues* ready to diſplay her *Footiſh Eloquence* at the top of the Stairs, ſhe ſetteth out like a Ship out of the Harbour, laden with trifles and cometh back with them: at her return ſhe repeateth to her faithful waiting-Wo-

man, the *Triumphs* of that day's *Impertinence*; then wrap'd up in Flattery and clean Linen, goeth to Bed so satisfied, that it throweth her into pleasant Dreams of her own Felicity. Such a one is seldom serious but with her *Taylor*; her *Children* and Family may now and then have a random thought, but she never taketh aim but at something very Impertinent. I say, when a *Husband*, whose Province is without Doors, and to whom the Oeconomy of the House would be in some degree Indecent, findeth no *Order* nor *Quiet* in his *Family*, meeteth with *Complaints* of all kinds springing from this Root; The *Mistaken Lady*, who thinketh to make *amends* for all this, by having a well-chosen *Petty Coat*, will at last be convinced of her *Error*, and with grief be forced to undergo the Penalties that belong to those who are willfully *Insignificant*. When this scurvy hour cometh upon her, she first groweth *Angry*; then when the time of it is past, would perhaps grow *wiser*, not remembring that we can no more have *Wisdom* than *Grace*, whenever we think fit to call for it. There are Times and Periods fix'd for both; and when they are too long neglected, the Punishment is, that they are

are *Irrecoverable*, and nothing remaineth but an uſeleſs *Grief* for the Folly of having thrown them out of our power. You are to think what a mean Figure a Woman maketh, when ſhe is ſo degraded by her own Fault; whereas there is nothing in thoſe Duties which are expected from you, that can be a leſſening to you, except your want of *Conduct* makes it ſo. You may love your *Children* without living in the *Nurſery*, and you may have a *competent* and *diſcreet care* of them, without letting it break out upon the Company, or expoſing your ſelf by turning your Diſcourſe that way, which is a kind of *Laying Children* to the *Pariſh*, and it can hardly be done any where, that thoſe who hear it will be ſo forgiving, as not to think they are overcharged with them. A Woman's *tenderneſs* to her *Children* is one of the leaſt deceitful Evidences of the Vertue; but yet the way of expreſſing it, muſt be ſubject to the Rules of *good Breeding*: And though a *Woman* of *Quality* ought not to be leſs kind to them, than *Mothers* of the *Meaneſt Rank* are to theirs, yet ſhe may diſtinguiſh her ſelf in the *manner*, and avoid the courſe Methods, which in Women of a lower ſize might be more excuſable. You muſt be-

gin early to make them *love* you, that they may *obey* you. This Mixture is no where more neceſſary than in Children. And I muſt tell you, that you are not to expect Returns of Kindneſs from yours, if ever you have any, without Grains of Allowance; and yet it is not ſo much a *defect* in their *good Nature*, as a *ſhortneſs of Thought* in them. Their firſt *Inſufficiency* maketh them lean ſo entirely upon their *Parents* for what is *neceſſary*, that the *habit* of it maketh them continue the ſame *Expectations* for what is *unreaſonable*; and as often as they are *denied*, ſo often they think they are *injured*: and whilſt their *Deſires* are ſtrong, and their *Reaſons* yet in the Cradle, their *Anger* looketh no farther than the thing they long for and cannot have; And to be *diſpleaſed* for their *own good*, is a *Maxim* they are very ſlow to underſtand: So that you may conclude, the firſt Thoughts of your *Children* will have no ſmall Mixture of Mutiny; which being ſo natural, you muſt not be angry, except you would increaſe it. You muſt deny them as ſeldom as you can, and when there is no avoiding it, you muſt do it *gently*; you muſt flatter away their ill Humour, and take the next Opportunity of pleaſing them

them in ſome other thing, before they either aſk or look for it: This will ſtrengthen your *Authority*, by making it ſafe to them; and confirm their *Obedience*, by making it their Intereſt. You are to have as ſtrict a Guard upon your ſelf amongſt your *Children*, as if you were amongſt your *Enemies*. They are apt to make wrong Inferences, to take Encouragement from half Words, and miſapply what you may ſay or do, ſo as either to leſſen their *Duty*, or to extend their *Liberty* farther than is convenient. Let them be more in awe of your *Kindneſs* than of your *Power*. And above all, take heed of ſupporting a *Favourite Child* in its Impertinence, which will give Right to the reſt of claiming the ſame Privilege. If you have a divided Number, leave the *Boys* to the *Father*'s more peculiar Care, that you may with the greater Juſtice pretend to a more immediate Juriſdiction over thoſe of your own *Sex*. You are to live ſo with them, that they may never chuſe to avoid you, except when they have *offended*; and then let them tremble, that they may diſtinguiſh: But their Penance muſt not continue ſo long as to grow too *ſowre* upon their *Stomachs*, that it may not *harden* inſtead of *correcting* them: The

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kind and ſevere Part muſt have their ſeveral *turns* ſeaſonably applied; but your *Indulgence* is to have the broader mixture, that *Love*, rather than *Fear*, may be the Root of their *Obedience*.

Your *Servants* are in the next place to be conſidered; and you muſt remember not to fall into the miſtake of thinking, that becauſe they receive Wages, and are ſo much *Inferiour* to you, therefore they are *below* your Care to know how to manage them. It would be as good Reaſon for a *Maſter Workman* to deſpiſe the *Wheels* of his *Engines*, becauſe they are made of *Wood*. Theſe are the *Wheels* of your *Family*; and let your Directions be never ſo faultleſs, yet if theſe *Engines* ſtop or move wrong, the whole Order of your *Houſe* is either at a ſtand, or diſcompoſed. Beſides, the *Inequality* which is between you, muſt not make you forget, that *Nature* maketh no ſuch diſtinction, but that *Servants* may be looked upon as *humble Friends*, and that *Returns* of *Kindneſs* and *good Uſage* are as much due to ſuch of them as deſerve it, as their *Service* is due to *us* when we require it. *A fooliſh haughtineſs* in the Style of *ſpeaking*, or in the manner of *commanding* them, is in it ſelf very undecent;

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beſides that it begetteth an *Averſion* in them, of which the leaſt ill Effect to be expected, is, that they will be *ſlow* and *careleſs* in all that is injoyned them: And you will find it true by your Experience, that you will be ſo much the more *obeyed* as you are leſs *Imperious*. Be not *too haſty* in giving your *Orders*, nor *too angry* when they are not altogether *obſerved*; much leſs are you to be loud, and too much diſturbed: An *evenneſs* in diſtinguiſhing when they do well or *ill*, is that which will make your *Family* move by a Rule, and without Noiſe, and will the better ſet out your Skill in conducting it with Eaſe and Silence, that it may be like a well diſciplin'd Army: which knoweth how to anticipate the *Orders* that are fit to be given them. You are never to neglect the Duty of the *preſent Hour*, to do another thing, which though it may be better in it ſelf, is not to be unſeaſonably preferred. Allot well choſen Hours for the Inſpection of your *Family*, which may be ſo diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of your Time, that the *neceſſary Cares* may come in their proper Place, without any Influence upon your good Humour, or Interruption to other things. By theſe Methods you will put your ſelf

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in poſſeſſion of being valued by your Servants, and then their *Obedience* will naturally follow.

I muſt not forget one of the greateſt *Articles* belonging to a *Family*, which is the *Expence*. It muſt not be ſuch, as by failing either in the Time or meaſure of it, may rather draw *Cenſure* than gain *Applauſe*. If it was well examined, there is more Money given to be laughed at, than for any one thing in the World, though the Purchaſers do not think ſo. A well-ſtated Rule is like the *Line*, when that is once paſs'd we are under another *Pole*; ſo the firſt *ſtraying* from a *Rule*, is a ſtep towards making that which was before a *Vertue*, to change its Nature, and to grow either into a *Vice*, or at leaſt an *Impertinence*. The Art of laying out Money wiſely, is not attained to without a great deal of thought; and it is yet more difficult in the Caſe of a *Wife*, who is accountable to her *Husband* for her miſtakes in it. It is not only his *Money*, his *Credit* too is at Stake, if what lyeth under the *Wife*'s Care is managed, either with undecent *Thrift*, or too looſe *Profuſion*. You are therefore to keep the *Mean* between theſe two *Extremes*, and it being hardly poſſible to hold the Balance

lance exactly even, let it rather incline towards the *Liberal* side as more suitable to your *Quality*, and less subject to *Reproach*. Of the two a little *Money* misspent is sooner *recovered*, than the *Credit* which is lost by having it unhandsomely *saved*; and a Wise *Husband* will less forgive a shameful piece of *Parcimony*, than a little *Extravagance*, if it be not too often repeated. His *Mind* in this must be your chief *Direction*; and his *Temper*, when once known, will in great measure justifie your part in the management, if he is pleased with it.

In your *Clothes* avoid too much Gaudy; do not value your self upon an *Imbroidered Gown*; and remember, that a *reasonable Word*, or an *obliging Look*, will gain you more respect, than all your *fine Trappings*. This is not said to restrain you from a *decent Compliance* with the World, provided you take the wiser, and not the foolisher part of your Sex for your Pattern. Some *distinctions* are to be allowed, whilst they are well suited to your *Quality* and *Fortune*, and in the distribution of the Expence, it seemeth to me that a *full Attendance*, and *well-chosen Ornaments* for your House, will make you a better Figure, than *too much glittering* in what

what you wear, which may with more ease be imitated by those that are below you. Yet this must not tempt you to starve every thing but your own Appartment; or in order to more abundance there, give just cause to the least Servant you have, to complain of the Want of what is necessary. Above all, fix it in your thoughts, as an unchangeable *Maxim*, That nothing is *truly fine* but what is *fit*, and that just so much as is proper for your *Circumstances* of their several kinds, is much finer than all you can add to it. When you once break through these bounds, you launch into a wide Sea of *Extravagance*. Every thing will become necessary, because you have a mind to it; and you have a mind to it, not because it is *fit* for you, but because some body else *hath* it. This *Lady's Logick* setteth *Reason* upon its Head, by carrying the *Rule from* things to *Persons*; and appealing from what is *right* to every Fool that is in the *wrong*. The word *necessary* is miserably applyed, it disordereth *Families*, and overturneth *Governments* by being so abused. Remember that *Children* and *Fools* want every thing because they want Wit to distinguish: and therefore there is no stronger Evidence of a *Crazy Understanding*, than

than the making too large a Catalogue of things necessary, when in truth there are so very few things that have a right to be placed in it. Try every thing first in your *Judgment*, before you allow it a place in your *Desire*; else your *Husband* may think it as necessary for him to deny, as it is for you to *have* whatever is unreasonable; and if you shall too often give him that advantage, the habit of *refusing* may perhaps reach to things that are not unfit for you.

There are unthinking *Ladies*, who do not enough consider, how little their own Figure agreeth with the *fine things* they are so proud of. Others when they have them will hardly allow them to be *visible*; they cannot be seen without *Light*, and that is many times so lavish and so prying, that like a too forward *Gallant* it is to be forbid the *Chamber*. Some, when you are ushered into their *Dark Ruelle*, it is with such solemnity, that a Man would swear there was something in it, till the *Unskilful Lady* breaketh silence, and beginneth a Chat, which discovereth it is a Puppet play with Magnificent Scenes. Many esteem things rather as they are hard to be gotten, than that they are worth getting. This looketh as if they had

had an Interest to pursue that Maxim, because a great part of their own *value* dependeth upon it. Truth in these Cases would be often *unmannerly*, and might derogate from the *Prerogative*, great *Ladies* would assume to themselves, of being distinct Creatures from those of their Sex, which are inferiour, and of less difficult access.

In other things too, your Condition must give the rule to you, and therefore it is not a Wife's part to aim at more than a bounded *Liberality*; the farther extent of that *Quality* (otherwise to be commended) belongeth to the *Husband*, who hath better means for it. *Generosity* wrong placed becometh a *Vice*. It is no more a *Vertue* when it groweth into an *Inconvenience*, *Vertues* must be inlarged or restrained according to differing Circumstances. A *Princely Mind* will undo a *private Family*: Therefore things must be suited, or else they will not deserve to be Commended, let them in themselves be never so valuable: And the Expectations of the World are best answered when we acquit our selves in that manner which seemeth to be prescribed to our several Conditions, without usurping upon those Duties, which do not so particularly belong to us.

I will close the consideration of this *Article* of *Expence*, with this short word. Do not *fetter* your self with such a *Restraint* in it as may make you *Remarkable*; but remember that *Vertue* is the greatest *Ornament*, and good *Sence* the *best Equipage*.

BEHAVIOUR and CONVERSATION.

IT is time now to lead you out of your *House* into the *World*. A Dangerous step; where your Vertue alone will not secure you, except it is attended with a great deal of *Prudence*. You must have *both* for your *Guard*, and not stir without them. The Enemy is abroad, and you are sure to be taken, if you are found straging. Your *Behaviour* is therefore to incline strongly towards the *Reserved part*; your *Character* is to be immoveably fixed upon that Bottom, not excluding a mixture of greater freedom, as far as it may be innocent and well timed. The *Extravagancies* of the Age have made *Caution* more necessary; and by the same

reaſon that the too great Licence of ill Men hath by Conſequence in many things reſtrained the Lawful Liberty of thoſe who did not abuſe it, the unjuſtifiable Freedoms of ſome of your Sex have involved the reſt in the Penalty of being reduced. And though this cannot ſo alter the Nature of things, as to make that *Criminal*, which in it ſelf is *Indifferent*; yet if it maketh it *dangerous*, that alone is ſufficient to juſtifie the *Reſtraint*. A *cloſe behaviour* is the fitteſt to receive *Vertue* for its conſtant *Gueſt*, becauſe there, and there only, it can be ſecure. Proper *Reſerves* are the Outworks, and muſt never be deſerted by thoſe who intend to keep the Place; they keep off the poſſibilities not only of being *taken*, but of being *attempted*; and if a Woman ſeeth Danger tho at never ſo remote a Diſtance, ſhe is for that time to ſhorten her *Line* of *Liberty*. She who will allow her ſelf to go to the *utmoſt Extent* of every thing that is *Lawful*, is ſo very near going farther, that thoſe who lie at watch, will begin to count upon her.

Mankind, from the double temptation of *Vanity* and *Deſire*, is apt to turn every thing a *Woman* doth to the *hopeful ſide*; and there are few who dare make an impudent

pudent Application, till they discern something which they are willing to take for an *Encouragement*. It is safer therefore to prevent such *Forwardness*, than to go about to *cure* it. It gathereth Strength by the first *allowances*, and claimeth a Right from having been at any time suffered with Impunity. Therefore nothing is with more care to be avoided, than such a kind of *Civility* as may be mistaken for *Invitation*; and it will not be enough for you to keep your self free from any criminal *Engagements*; for if you do that which either raiseth *Hopes* or createth *Discourse*, there is a Spot thrown upon your Good Name; and those kind of Stains are the harder to be taken out, being dropped upon you by the *Man's Vanity*, as well as by the *Woman's Malice*.

Most Men are in one sence *Platonick Lovers*, though they are not willing to own that *Character*. They are so far *Philosophers*, as to allow, that the greatest part of Pleasure lieth in the *Mind*; and in pursuance of that *Maxim*, there are few who do not place the Felicity more in the Opinion of the World, of their being *prosperous Lovers*, than in the *Blessing* it self, how much soever they appear to value it. This being so, you must be very cautious not to

gratifie these *Camelеons* at the price o bringing a *Cloud* upon your *Reputatio* which may be deeply wounded, tho yo *Conſcience* is unconcerned.

Your own Sex too will not fail to he the leaſt Appearance that giveth a *Hand* to be ill-turned. The beſt of them wi not be diſpleaſed to improve their ow Value, by laying others under a *Diſadva tage*, when there is a fair Occaſion give for it. It diſtinguiſheth them ſtill the mo their own *Credit* is more exalted, and, lik a Picture ſet off with Shades, ſhineth mo when a *Lady*, either leſs *Innocent*, or le *Diſcreet* is ſet near, to make them appe ſo much the brighter. If theſe lend the Breath to blaſt ſuch as are ſo unwary as t give them this Advantage, you may b ſure there will be a ſtronger Gale fro thoſe, who, beſides *Malice* or *Emulatio* have an *Intereſt* too, to ſtrike hard upon Vertuous Woman. It ſeemeth to them, th their Load of Infamy is leſſened, by throw ing part of it upon others: So that the will not only improve when it lieth in the way, but take pains to find out the leaſ miſtake an *Innocent Woman* committeth, i Revenge of the Injury ſhe doth in leadin a Life which is a Reproach to them. Wit theſe you muſt be extreme *wary*, and no

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ther provoke them to be *angry*, nor invite them to be *Intimate*.

To the *Men* you are to have a *Behaviour* which may ſecure you, without offending them. No ill-bred affected *Shyneſs*, nor a *Roughneſs*, unſuitable to your *Sex*, and unneceſſary to your *Vertue*; but a way of Living that may prevent all courſe *Raillеries* or *unmannerly Freedoms*; *Looks* that forbid without *Rudeneſs*, and oblige without *Invitation*, or leaving room for the ſawcy Inferences Men's Vanity ſuggeſteth to them upon the leaſt Encouragements. This is ſo very nice, that it muſt engage you to have a perpetual *Watch* upon your *Eyes*, and to remember, that one careleſs *Glance* giveth more advantage than a *hundred Words* not enough conſidered; the *Language* of the *Eyes* being very much the moſt *ſignificant*, and the moſt *obſerved*.

Your *Civility*, which is always to be preſerved, muſt not be carried to a *Compliance*, which may betray you into irrecoverable Miſtakes. This *French* ambiguous word *Complaiſance* hath led your Sex into more blame, than all other things put together. It carrieth them by degrees into a certain thing called a *good kind* of *Woman*, an eaſie *Idle Creature*, that doth neither *Good* nor *Ill* but by *chance*, hath no *Choice*, but

leaveth that to the Company ſhe keepeth. *Time*, which by degrees addeth to the ſignification of *Words*, hath made her, according to the Modern Stile, little better than one who thinketh it a *Rudeneſs* to deny when civilly required, either her *Service*, *Perſon*, or her *friendly Aſſiſtance*, to thoſe who would have a *meeting*, or want a *Confident*. She is a certain thing always at hand, an eaſie *Companion*, who hath ever great *Compaſſion* for *diſtreſſed Lovers*: She cenſureth nothing but *Rigor*, and is never without a *Plaiſter* for a *wounded Reputation*, in which chiefly lieth her Skill in *Chirurgery*; She ſeldom hath the Propriety of any *particular Gallant*, but liveth upon *Brokage*, and waiteth for the Scraps her Friends are content to leave her.

There is another *Character* not quite ſo *Criminal*, yet not leſs *Ridiculous*; which is that of a *good-humour'd Woman*, one who thinketh ſhe muſt always be in a *Laugh*, or a broad *Smile*, becauſe *Good-humour* is an obliging Quality; thinketh it leſs ill-manners to talk *Impertinently*, than to be ſilent in Company. When ſuch a prating *Engine* rideth *Admiral*, and carrieth the *Lantern*, in a *Circle of Fools*, a *cheerful Coxcomb* coming in for a *Recruit*, the *Chattering* of *Monkeys* is a better noiſe than ſuch a

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Concert of *senceleſs Merriment.* If ſhe is applauded in it, ſhe is ſo encouraged, that, like a *Ballad ſinger*, who if commended, breaketh his Lungs, ſhe letteth her ſelf looſe, and overfloweth upon the Company. She conceiveth that Mirth is to have no intermiſſion, and therefore ſhe will carry it about with her, though it be to a *Funeral*; and if a Man ſhould put a familiar Queſtion, ſhe doth not know very well how to be angry, for then ſhe would be no more that pretty thing called a *Good humour'd Woman.* This neceſſity of appearing at all times to be ſo infinitely pleaſed is a grievous miſtake; ſince in a *handſom Woman* that *Invitation* is unneceſſary; and in one who is not ſo, *ridiculous.* It is not intended by this, that you ſhould forſwear *Laughing*; but remember, that Fools being always painted in that poſture, it may fright thoſe who are wiſe from doing it too frequently, and going too near a Copy which is ſo little inviting, and much more from doing it *loud*, which is an unnatural Sound and looketh ſo much like another Sex, that few things are more offenſive. That *boiſterous* kind of *Jollity* is as contrary to *Wit* and *Good Manners*, as it is to *Modeſty* and *Vertue.* Beſides, it is a courſe kind of quality, that threweth a

Woman into a lower Form, and degradeth her from the Rank of those who are more refined. Some *Ladies* speak *loud* and make a *noise* to be the more minded, which looketh as if they beat their *Drums* for *Volunteers*, and if by misfortune none come in to them, they may, not without reason, be a good deal out of Countenance.

There is one thing, yet more to be avoided, which is the *Example* of those who intend nothing farther than the Vanity of *Conquest*, and think themselves secure of not having their Honour tainted by it. Some are apt to believe their *Vertue* is too *Obscure*, and not *enough known*, except it is exposed to a *broader Light*, and set out to its best advantage, by some publick Trials. These are dangerous experiments, and generally fail, being built upon so weak a foundation, as that of a too great *Confidence* in our selves. It is as safe to play with *Fire*, as to dally with *Gallantry*. *Love* is a Passion that hath Friends in the Garrison, and for that reason must by a Woman be kept at such a distance, that she may not be within the danger of doing the most usual thing in the World, which is conspiring against her Self: Else the humble Gallant, who is only admitted as a Trophy, very often becometh

cometh the Conquerour: he putteth on the ſtyle of victory, and from an *Admirer* groweth into a *Maſter*, for ſo he may be called from the moment he is in Poſſeſſion. The firſt Reſolutions of ſtopping at good Opinion and Eſteem, grow weaker by degrees againſt the Charms of *Courtſhip* skilfully applied. A Lady is apt to think a Man ſpeaketh ſo much reaſon whilſt he is *Commending* her, that ſhe hath much ado to believe him in the wrong when he is making Love to her. And when beſides the natural Inducements your Sex hath to be merciful, ſhe is bribed by well choſen *Flattery*, the poor Creature is in danger of being caught like a Bird liſtening to the Whiſtle of one that hath a Snare for it. *Conqueſt* is ſo tempting a thing, that it often maketh Women miſtake Men's *Submiſſions*; which with all their fair Appearance, have generally leſs *Reſpect* than *Art* in them. You are to remember, that Men who ſay extreme fine things, many times ſay them moſt for their own ſakes; and that the vain Gallant is often as well pleaſed with his own *Compliments*, as he could be with the *kindeſt anſwer*. Where there is not that *Oſtentation* you are to ſuſpect there is *Deſign*. And as ſtrong *perfumes* are ſeldom uſed

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but where they are neceſſary to ſmother an unwelcome *ſcent*; ſo *Exceſſive good Words* leave room to believe they are ſtrewed to cover ſomething, which is to gain admittance under a Diſguiſe. You muſt therefore be upon your Guard, and conſider, that of the two, *Reſpect* is more dangerous than *Anger*. It puts even the beſt Underſtandings out of their place for the time, till their ſecond thoughts reſtore them; it ſtealeth upon us inſenſibly, throweth down our *Defences*, and maketh it too late to reſiſt, after we have given it that advantage. Whereas railing goeth away in ſound; it hath ſo much noiſe in it, that by giving warning it beſpeaketh Caution. *Reſpect* is a ſlow and a ſure *Poiſon*, and like *Poiſon* ſwelleth us within our ſelves. Where it prevaileth too much, it groweth to be a kind of *Apoplexie* in the Mind, turneth it quite round, and after it hath once ſeized the underſtanding, becometh *mortal* to it. For theſe reaſons, the ſafeſt way is to treat it like a ſly Enemy, and to be perpetually upon the watch againſt it.

I will add one *Advice* to conclude this head, which is that you will let every ſeven years make ſome alteration in you towards the *Graver* ſide, and not be like the *Girls* of Fifty, who reſolve to be always *Young*, what-

whatever *Time* with his Iron Teeth hath determined to the contrary. Unnatural things carry a *Deformity* in them never to be *Diſguiſed*; the *Livelineſs* of *Youth* in a riper Age, looketh like a *new patch* upon an *old Gown*; ſo that a *Gay Matron*, a cheerful *old Fool* may be reaſonably put into the Liſt of the *Tamer* kind of *Monſters*. There is a certain Creature call'd a *Grave Hobby-Horſe*, a kind of a ſhe *Numps*, that pretendeth to be pulled to a Play, and muſt needs go to *Bartholomew-Fair*, to look after the young Folks, whom ſhe only ſeemeth to make her care, in reality ſhe taketh them for her excuſe. Such an old *Butterfly* is of all *Creatures*, the moſt ridiculous, and the ſooneſt found out. It is good to be early in your Caution, to avoid any thing that cometh within diſtance of ſuch deſpicable Patterns, and not like ſome *Ladies*, who defer their *Converſion*, till they have been ſo long in poſſeſſion of being laughed at, that the World doth not know how to change their ſtyle, even when they are reclaimed from that which gave the firſt occaſion for it.

The advantages of being *reſerved* are too many to be ſet down, I will only ſay, that it is a *Guard* to a *good Woman*, and a *Diſguiſe* to an *ill one*. It is of ſo much uſe

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to both, that those ought to use it as an *Artifice*, who refuse to practise it as a *Vertue*.

FRIENDSHIPS.

I Must in a particular manner recommend to you a strict Care in the Choice of your *Friendships*. Perhaps the best are not without their *Objections*, but however, be sure that yours may not stray from the Rules which the wiser part of the World hath set to them. The Leagues *Offensive* and *Defensive*, seldom hold in *Politicks*, and much less in *Friendships*. The violent *Intimacies*, when once broken, of which they scarce ever fail, make such a *Noise*; the Bag of Secrets untied, they fly about like Birds let loose from a Cage, and become the *Entertainment* of the *Town*. Besides, these great *Dearnesses* by degrees grow *Injurious* to the rest of your *Acquaintance*, and throw them off from you. There is such an *Offensive* Distinction when the *Dear Friend* cometh into the Room, that it is *flinging Stones* at the *Company*, who are not apt to forgive it.

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Do not lay out your *Friendſhip* too *laviſhly* at firſt, ſince it will, like other things, be ſo much the ſooner ſpent; neither let it be of too ſudden a *growth*; for as the Plants which ſhoot up too *faſt* are not of that *continuance*, as thoſe which take more time for it; ſo too ſwift a Progreſs in pouring out your *Kindneſs*, is a certain Sign that by the Courſe of Nature it will not be *long-lived*. You will be reſponſible to the World, if you pitch upon ſuch *Friends* as at the time are under the weight of any *Criminal Objection*. In that caſe you will bring your ſelf under the diſadvantages of their *Character*, and muſt bear your part of it. *Chuſing* implieth *Approving*; and if you fix upon a *Lady* for your *Friend* againſt whom the World ſhall have given Judgment, 'tis not ſo well natur'd as to believe you are altogether *averſe* to her way of *living*, ſince it doth not diſcourage you from Admitting her into your *Kindneſs*. And *Reſemblance* of *Inclinations* being thought none of the leaſt Inducements to *Friendſhip*, you will be looked upon at leaſt as a Well-wiſher if not a *Partner* with her in her Faults. If you can forgive them in another, it may be preſumed you will not be leſs gentle to your ſelf; and therefore you muſt not take

take it ill, if you are reckoned a *Croupiere*, and condemned to pay an equal Share with ſuch a Friend of the *Reputation* ſhe hath loſt.

If it happeneth that your *Friend* ſhould fall from the State of *Innocence* after your Kindneſs was engaged to her, you may be ſlow in your belief in the beginning of the Diſcovery: But as ſoon as you are convinced by a *Rational Evidence*, you muſt, without breaking too *roughly*, make a ſar and a quick *Retreat* from ſuch a *Miſtaken Acquaintance*: Elſe by moving *too ſlowly* from one that is ſo tainted, the Contagion may reach you ſo far as to give you part of the *Scandal*, though not of the *Guilt*. This Matter is ſo nice, that as you muſt not be too haſty to *joyn* in the *Cenſure* upon your *Friend* when ſhe is *accuſed*, ſo you are not on the other ſide to *defend* her with too much warmth; for if ſhe ſhould happen to deſerve the Report of *Common Fame*, beſides the Vexation that belongeth to ſuch a miſtake, you will draw an *ill appearance* upon your ſelf, and it will be thought you pleaded for her not without ſome *Conſideration* of your ſelf. The *Anger* which muſt be put on to vindicate the *Reputation* of an *injured Friend*, may incline the Company to ſuſpect you would not be

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ſo *zealous*, if there was not a poſſibility that the Caſe might be your own. For this reaſon you are not to carry your *dearneſs* ſo far, as abſolutely to loſe your Sight where your Friend is concerned. Becauſe *Malice* is too quick ſighted, it doth not follow, that *Friendſhip* muſt be *blind*: There is to be a *Mean* between theſe two *Extremes*, elſe your Exceſs of Good Nature may betray you into a very *ridiculous Figure*, and by degrees who may be preferr'd to ſuch Offices as you will not be proud of. Your *Ignorance* may leſſen the *Guilt*, but will improve the *Jeſt* upon you, who ſhall be kindly ſollicitous to procure a Meeting, and innocently contribute to the *ills* you would avoid: Whileſt the *Contriving Lovers*, when they are alone, ſhall make you the Subject of their *Mirth*, and perhaps (with reſpect to the Goddeſs of *Love* be it ſpoken) it is not the worſt part of their *Entertainment*, at leaſt it is the moſt laſting, to laugh at the *believing Friend*, who was ſo eaſily deluded.

Let the good Sence of your *Friends* be a chief Ingredient in your *Choice* of them; elſe let your *Reputation* be never ſo clear, it may be clouded by their *Impertinence*. It is like our Houſes being in the Power of a Drunken or a Careleſs Neighbour; only

ly so much worse, as that there will be no *Insurance* here to make you amends, as there is in the Case of Fire.

To conclude this Paragraph; If *Formality* is to be allowed in any Instance, it is to be put on to resist the Invasion of such forward Women as shall press themselves into your *Friendship*, where if admitted, they will either be a *Snare* or an *Incumbrance*.

CENSURE.

I will come next to the Consideration, how you are to manage your *Censure*; in which both Care and skill will be a good deal required. To distinguish is not only *natural* but *necessary*; and the Effect of it is, That we cannot avoid giving Judgment in our Minds, either to *absolve* or *to condemn* as the Case requireth. The *Difficulty* is, to know when and where it is fit to *proclaim* the *Sentence*. An *Aversion* to what is *Criminal*, a *Contempt* of what is *ridiculous*, are the *inseparable Companions* of Understanding and Vertue; but the letting them go farther than our own *Thoughts*, hath so much danger in it, that though it

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is neither possible nor fit to *suppress* them intirely, yet it is necessary they should be kept under very great *Restraints*. An *unlimited Liberty* of this kind is little less than sending a *Herald* and proclaiming War to the World, which is an *angry Beast* when so provoked. The Contest will be *unequal*, though you are never so much in the right; and if you begin against such an Adversary, it will tear you in pieces, with this Justification, That it is done in its own defence. You must therefore take heed of *Laughing*, except in Company that is very sure. It is throwing Snow-balls against Bullets; and it is the *disadvantage* of a Woman, that the Malice of the World will help the Brutality of those who will throw a *slovenly Untruth* upon her. You are for this Reason to suppress your *Impatience* for Fools; who besides that they are too strong a Party to be unnecessarily provoked, are of all others, the most dangerous in this Case. A *Blockhead* in his Rage will return a *dull Jest* that will lie heavy, though there is not a *Grain* of *Wit* in it. Others will do it with more Art, and you must not think your self secure because your *Reputation* may perhaps be out of the reach of *Ill will*; for if it findeth that part *guarded*, it will seek one which is

more *expoſed*. It flieth, like a corrupt Humour in the Body, to the *weakeſt* Part. If you have a *tender Side*, the World will be ſure to find it, and to put the worſt *Colour* upon all you ſay or do, give an *Aggravation* to every thing that may leſſen you, and a *ſpiteful turn* to every thing that might recommend you. *Anger* laieth open thoſe Defects which *Friendſhip* would not ſee, and *Civility* might be willing to forget. *Malice* needeth no ſuch *Invitation* to encourage it, neither are any *Pains* more ſuperfluous than thoſe we take not to be ill ſpoken of. If *Envy*, which never dieth, and ſeldom ſleepeth, is content ſometimes to be in a *Slumber*, it is very unskilful to make a noiſe to *awake* it.

Beſides, your *Wit* will be miſapplied if it is wholly directed to diſcern the *Faults of others*, when it is ſo neceſſary to be often uſed to *mend* and *prevent your own*. The ſending our *Thoughts* too much abroad hath the ſame Effect, as when a *Family* never ſtayeth at home. *Neglect* and *Diſorder* naturally followeth; as it muſt do within our ſelves, if we do not frequently turn our Eyes inwards, to ſee what is amiſs with us, where it is a ſign we have an *unwelcome Proſpect*, when we do not care to *look* upon it, but rather ſeek our *Conſolation*

solutions in the *Faults* of those we converse with.

Avoid being the first in fixing a *hard Censure*, let it be confirmed by the *general Voice*, before you give into it; Neither are you then to give Sentence like a *Magistrate*, or as if you had a *special Authority* to bestow a *good* or *ill Name* at your discretion. Do not dwell too long upon a *weak Side*, touch and go away; take pleasure to stay longer where you can commend, like Bees that fix only upon those Herbs out of which they may extract the Juice of which their Honey is composed. A *Vertue* stuck with *Bristles* is too rough for this Age; it must be adorned with some *Flowers*, or else it will be unwillingly entertained; so that even where it may be fit to strike, do it like a *Lady*, gently; and assure your self, that where you care to do it, you will wound others more, and hurt your self less, by *soft Strokes*, than by being *harsh* or *violent*.

The Triumph of *Wit* is to make your *good Nature* subdue your *Censure*; to be quick in *seeing Faults*, and slow in *exposing* them. You are to consider, that the invisible thing called a *Good Name*, is made up of the Breath of Numbers that speak well of you; so that if by a *disobliging Word*

you ſilence the *meaneſt*, the *Gale* will be leſs ſtrong which is to bear up your *Eſteem*. And though nothing is ſo vain as the eager purſuit of *empty Applauſe*, yet to be well thought of, and to be kindly uſed by the World, is like a *Glory* about a Woman's *Head*; 'tis a Perfume ſhe carrieth about with her, and leaveth where-ever ſhe goeth; 'tis a Charm againſt *Ill-will*. *Malice* may empty her Quiver, but cannot wound; the Dirt will not ſtick, the Jeſts will not take; Without the conſent of the World a *Scandal* doth not go deep; it is only a ſlight ſtroak upon the injured Party and returneth with the greater force upon thoſe that gave it.

VANITY and AFFECTATION.

I Muſt with more than ordinary *earneſtneſs* give you Caution againſt *Vanity*, it being the Fault to which your Sex ſeemeth to be the moſt *inclined*; and ſince *Affectation* for the moſt part attendeth it, I do not know how to divide them. I will not call them *Twins*, becauſe more properly *Vanity* is the *Mother*, and *Affectation* is the Darling Daughter; *Vanity* is the Sin, and *Affecta-*

Affectation is the Punishment; the first may be called the Root of *Self-Love*, the other the *Fruit*. *Vanity* is never at its full growth till it spreadeth into *Affectation*, and then it is compleat.

Not to dwell any longer upon the definition of them, I will pass to the means and motives to avoid them. In order to which you are to consider, that the World challengeth the right of distributing Esteem and Applause; so that where any assume by their single Authority to be their own *Carvers*, it groweth angry, and never faileth to seek *Revenge*. And if we may measure a Fault by the greatness of the *Penalty*, there are few of a higher size than *Vanity*, as there is scarce a Punishment which can be heavier than that of being laughed at.

Vanity maketh a Woman tainted with it, so top full of her self, that she spilleth it upon the *Company*. And because her own thoughts are intirely imployed in *Self-Contemplation*; she endeavoureth, by a cruel Mistake, to confine her *Acquaintance* to the same narrow Circle of that which only concerneth her Ladiship, forgetting that she is not of half that *Importance* to the World, that she is to her self, so mistaken she is in her Value, by being her own Ap-

praiſer. She will fetch ſuch a Compaſs in Diſcourſe to bring in her beloved *Self*, and rather than fail, her fine Petty-Coat that there can hardly be a better Scene than ſuch a Tryal of ridiculous Ingenuity. It is a Pleaſure to ſee her Angle for *Commendations*, and riſe ſo diſſatisfied with the ill-bréad *Company*, if they will not *bite*. To obſerve her throwing her *Eyes* about to fetch in Priſoners, and go about Cruizing like a Privateer, and ſo out of *Countenance*, if ſhe return without *Booty*, is no ill piece of Comedy. She is ſo eager to draw reſpect, that ſhe always miſſeth it, yet thinketh it ſo much her due, that when ſhe faileth ſhe groweth *waſpiſh*, not conſidering, that it is impoſſible to commit a Rape upon the will; that it muſt be fairly gained, and will not be taken by *Storm*; and that in this Caſe, the Tax ever riſeth higheſt by a *Benevolence*. If the World inſtead of admiring her *Imaginary Excellencies*, taketh the Liberty to laugh at them, ſhe *appealeth* from it to her ſelf, for whom ſhe giveth *Sentence*, and proclaimeth it in all *Companies*. On the other ſide, if incouraged by a *Civil Word*, ſhe is ſo obliging, that ſhe will give thanks for being laughed at in good Language. She taketh a *Compliment* for a Demonſtration, and ſetteth it

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up as an *Evidence*, even againſt her Looking-Glaſs. But the good *Lady* being all this while in a moſt profound *Ignorance* of her ſelf, forgetteth that Men would not let her talk upon them, and throw ſo many *ſenſeleſs words* at their head, if they did not intend to put her Perſon to Fine and Ranſom, for her *Impertinence*. Good words of any other Lady, are ſo many Stones thrown at her, ſhe can by no means bear them, they make her ſo uneaſie, that ſhe cannot keep her *Seat*, but up ſhe riſeth and goeth home half burſt with *Anger* and *Strait-Lacing*. If by great chance ſhe ſaith any thing that hath ſence in it, ſhe expecteth ſuch an Exceſſive rate of *Commendations*, that to her thinking the Company ever riſeth in her *Debt*. She looketh upon *Rules* as things made for the common People, and not for Perſons of her *Rank*; and this Opinion ſometimes tempteth her to Extend her Prerogative to the diſpencing with the commandments. If by great *Fortune* ſhe happeneth, in ſpite of her *Vanity*, to be honeſt, ſhe is ſo troubleſome with it, that as far as in her lieth, ſhe maketh a *ſcurvy* thing of it. Her bragging of her *Vertue*, looketh as if it coſt her ſo much pains to get the better of her Self, that the *Inferences* are very ridiculous. Her *good Humour*

mour is generally applied to the laughing at *good Senſe*. It would do one good to ſee how heartily ſhe deſpiſeth any thing that is fit for her to do. The greateſt part of her *Fancy* is laid out in chuſing her *Gown*, as her *Diſcretion* is chiefly imploy'd in *not paying* for it. She is faithful to the *Faſhion*, to which not only her *Opinion*, but her *Senſes* are wholly reſigned: ſo obſequious ſhe is to it, that ſhe would be ready to be reconciled even to *Vertue* with all its *Faults*, if ſhe had her Dancing Maſter's Word that it was practis'd at Court.

To a Woman ſo compos'd when *Affectation* cometh in to improve her *Character*, it is then raiſed to the higheſt *Perfection*. She firſt ſetteth up for a *Fine thing*, and for that Reaſon will diſtinguiſh her ſelf, right or wrong, in every thing ſhe doth. She would have it thought that ſhe is made of ſo much the *finer Clay*, and ſo much more *ſifted* than ordinary, that ſhe hath no *common Earth* about her. To this end ſhe muſt neither move nor ſpeak like other Women, becauſe it would be *vulgar*; and therefore muſt have a Language of her *own*, ſince *ordinary Engliſh* is too courſe for her. The *Looking-glaſs* in the Morning dictateth to her all the *Motions* of the Day, which by how much the more *ſtudied*,

are

are ſo much the more *miſtaken*. She cometh into a Room as if her Limbs were ſet on with ill-made Screws, which maketh the Company fear the pretty thing ſhould leave ſome of its *artificial Perſon* upon the Floor. She doth not like her ſelf as *God Almighty* made her, but will have ſome of *her own* Workmanſhip; which is ſo far from making her a better thing than a *Woman*, that it turneth her into a worſe Creature than a *Monkey*. She falleth out with *Nature*, againſt which ſhe maketh War without admitting a *Truce*, thoſe Moments excepted in which her *Gallant* may reconcile her to it. When ſhe hath a mind to be *ſoft* and *languiſhing*, there is ſomthing ſo unnatural in that *affected Eaſineſs*, that her *Frowns* could not be by many degrees ſo forbidden. When ſhe would appear unreaſonably *humble*, one may ſee ſhe is ſo exceſſively *proud*, that there is no enduring it. There is ſuch an *impertinent Smile*, ſuch a *ſatisfied Simper*, when ſhe faintly diſowneth ſome fulſom Commendation a Man hapneth to beſtow upon her againſt his Conſcience, that her *Thanks* for it are more viſible under ſuch a thin *Diſguiſe*, than they could be if ſhe ſhould *print* them. If a *handſomer Woman* taketh any liberty of *Dreſſing* out of the ordinary Rules

Rules the miſtaken Lady followeth, without diſtinguiſhing the *unequal Pattern*, and maketh her ſelf *uglier* by an example misplaced; either forgetting the Privilege of *good Looks* in *another*, or preſuming, without ſufficient reaſon upon *her own*. Her *Diſcourſe* is a *ſenſeleſs Chime* of *empty Words*, a heap of *Compliments* ſo equally applied to differing *Perſons*, that they are neither valu'd nor believ'd. Her *Eyes* keep pace with her *Tongue*, and are therefore always in *motion*. One may diſcern that they generally incline to the *compaſſionate* ſide, and that, notwithſtanding her pretence to *Vertue*, ſhe is gentle to *diſtreſſed Lovers*, and *Ladies* that are *merciful*. She will repeat the tender part of a *Play* ſo feelingly, that the Company may gueſs, without Injuſtice, ſhe was not altogether a *diſintereſſed Spectator*. She thinketh that *Paint* and *Sin* are concealed by railing at them. Upon the latter ſhe is leſs hard, and being divided between the two oppoſite Prides of her *Beauty* and her *Vertue*, ſhe is often tempted to give broad Hints that ſome body is dying for her; and of the two ſhe is leſs unwilling to let the World think ſhe may be ſometimes *profan'd*, than that ſhe is never *worſhipped*.

Very

Very great *Beauty* may perhaps ſo dazle for a time, that Men may not ſo clearly ſee the *Deformity* of theſe *Affectations*; But when the *Brightneſs* goeth off, and that the *Lover's Eyes* are by that means ſet at liberty to ſee things as they are, he will naturally return to his Senſes, and recover the Miſtake into which the Lady's *good Looks* had at firſt engaged him. And being once undeceived, ceaſeth to worſhip that as a *Goddeſs*, which he ſeeth is only an *artificial Shrine* moved by *Wheels* and *Springs*, to delude him. Such Women pleaſe only like the *firſt Opening* of a *Scene*, that hath nothing to recommend it but the being *new*. They may be compared to *Flies*, that have pretty ſhining *Wings* for two or three hot Months, but the firſt cold Weather maketh an end of them; ſo the *latter Seaſon* of theſe *fluttering Creatures* is diſmal: From their neareſt Friends they receive a very faint Reſpect; from the reſt of the World, the utmoſt degree of contempt.

Let this *Picture* ſupply the place of any other *Rules* which might be given to prevent your *reſemblance* to it. The *Deformity* of it, well conſidered, is *Inſtruction* enough; from the ſame reaſon, that the ſight of a *Drunkard* is a better *Sermon* againſt

gainſt that *Vice*, than the beſt that was ever preach'd upon that *Subject*.

PRIDE.

AFter having ſaid this againſt *Vanity*, I do not intend to apply the ſame *Cenſure* to *Pride*, well placed, and rightly defined. It is an *ambiguous Word*; one kind of it is as much a *Vertue*, as the other is a *Vice*: But we are naturally ſo apt to chuſe the *worſt*, that it is become dangerous to commend the *beſt* ſide of it.

A Woman is not to be proud of her fine Gown; nor when ſhe hath leſs Wit than her Neighbours, to comfort her ſelf that ſhe hath more Lace. Some Ladies put ſo much weight upon *Ornaments*, that if one could ſee into their Hearts, it would be found, that even the Thought of *Death* is made leſs heavy to them by the contemplation of their being *laid out* in *State*, and *honourably attended* to the *Grave*. One may come a good deal ſhort of ſuch an *Extream*, and yet ſtill be ſufficiently *Impertinent*, by ſetting a wrong Value upon things, which ought to be uſed with more indifference. A Lady muſt not appear ſollicitous

licitous to ingroſs *Reſpect* to her ſelf, but be content with a reaſonable *Diſtribution*, and allow it to others, that ſhe may have it returned to her. She is not to be troubleſomly *nice*, nor diſtinguiſh her ſelf by being too *delicate*, as if ordinary things were too *courſe* for her; this is an *unmannerly* and an *offenſive* Pride, and where it is practiſed, deſerveth to be mortified, of which it ſeldom faileth. She is not to lean too much upon her Quality, much leſs to deſpiſe thoſe who are below it. Some make *Quality* an *Idol*, and then their *Reaſon* muſt fall down and Worſhip it. They would have the World think, that no amends can ever be made for the want of a *great Title*, or an ancient *Coat of Arms*: They imagine, that with theſe *advantages* they ſtand upon the *higher Ground*, which maketh them look down upon *Merit* and *Vertue*, as things inferiour to them. This miſtake is not only *ſenſeleſs*, but *criminal* too, in putting a greater Price upon that which is a piece of *good luck*, than upon things which are valuable in themſelves. *Laughing* is not enough for ſuch a *Folly*; it muſt be ſeverely *whipped*, as it juſtly deſerves. It will be confeſſed, there are frequent *Temptations* given by *pert Upſtarts* to be angry, and by that to have our Judgments corrupted in

theſe

theſe Caſes: But they are to be reſiſted; and the utmoſt that is to be allowed, is, when thoſe of a *new Edition* will forget themſelves, ſo as either to brag of their *weak ſide*, or to endeavour to hide their *Meanneſs* by their *Inſolence*, to cure them by a little ſeaſonable *Raillery*, a little *Sharpneſs* well placed, without dwelling too long upon it.

Theſe and many other kinds of *Pride* are to be avoided.

That which is to be recommended to you, is an *Emulation* to raiſe your ſelf to a *Character*, by which you may be diſtinguiſhed; an Eagerneſs for precedence in *Vertue*, and all ſuch other things as may gain you a greater ſhare of the good opinion of the World. *Eſteem* to *Vertue* is like a *cheriſhing Air* to *Plants* and *Flowers*, which maketh them blow and proſper; and for that reaſon it may be allowed to be in ſome degree the *Cauſe* as well as the *Reward* of it. That *Pride* which leadeth to a *good End*, cannot be a *Vice*, ſince it is the beginning of a *Vertue*; and to be pleaſed with juſt *Applauſe*, is ſo far from a *Fault*, that it would be an *ill Symptom* in a Woman, who ſhould not place the greateſt part of her *Satisfaction* in it. *Humility* is no doubt a great *Vertue*; but it ceaſeth to

be

be so, when it is afraid to scorn an *ill thing*. Against *Vice* and *Folly* it is becoming your *Sex* to be *haughty*; but you must not carry the *Contempt* of *things* to *Arrogance* towards *Persons*, and it must be done with fitting *Distinctions*, else it may be *Inconvenient* by being unseasonable. A *Pride* that raiseth a little *Anger* to be out-done in any thing that is good, will have so good an *Effect*, that it is very hard to allow it to be a Fault.

It is no easie matter to carry even between these differing kinds so described; but remember that it is safer for a *Woman* to be thought too *proud*, than too familiar.

DIVERSIONS.

THE last thing I shall recommend to you, is a wise and a safe method of using *Diversions*. To be too eager in the pursuit of Pleasure whilst you are *Young*, is dangerous; to catch at it in riper *Years*, is grasping a shadow; it will not be held. Besides that by being less natural it groweth to be indecent. *Diversions* are the most properly applied, to ease and relieve those who are *Oppressed*, by being too much imployed.

ployed. Those that are *Idle* have no need of them, and yet they, above all others, give themselves up to them. To unbend our *Thoughts*, when they are too much stretched by our Cares, is not more natural than it is necessary, but to turn our whole Life into a *Holy day*, is not only ridiculous, but destroyeth Pleasure instead of *promoting* it. The *Mind* like the *Body* is tired by being always in one Posture, too serious breaketh, and too diverting looseneth it. It is *Variety* that giveth the Relish; so that *Diversions* too frequently repeated, grow first to be indifferent, and at last tedious. Whilst they are well chosen and well timed, they are never to be blamed; but when they are used to an Excess, though very *Innocent* at first, they often grow to be *Criminal*, and never fail to be *Impertinent*.

Some Ladies are bespoken for Merry Meetings, as *Bessus* was for Duels. They are ingaged in a Circle of *Idleness*, where they turn round for the whole Year, without the *Interruption* of a serious Hour. They know all the Players Names, and are *Intimately* acquainted with all the Booths in *Bartholomew-Fair*. No Soldier is more *Obedient* to the sound of his Captain's *Trumpet*, than they are to that which summoneth them to a *Puppet-Play* or a *Monster*. The

Spring

Spring that bringeth out *Flies*, and *Fools*, maketh them Inhabitants in *Hide-Park*; in the Winter they are an Incumbrance to the *Play-House*, and the Ballast of the *Drawing-Room*. The Streets all this while are so weary of these daily Faces, that *Mens Eyes* are over-laid with them. The *Sight* is glutted with fine things, as the *Stomach* with sweet ones; and when a fair *Lady* will give too much of her self to the *World*, she grows ridiculous, and oppresseth instead of pleasing. These *Jolly Ladies* do so continually seek *Diversion*, that in a little time they grow into a *Jest*, yet are unwilling to remember, that if they were seldomer seen they would not be so often *laughed at*. Besides they make themselves *Cheap*, than which there cannot be an *unkinder word* bestowed upon your *Sex*.

To play sometimes, to entertain *Company*, or to *divert* your self, is not to be disallowed, but to do it so often as to be called a *Gamester*, is to be avoided, next to the things that are most *Criminal*. It hath Consequences of *several kinds* not to be endured; it will ingage you into a habit of *Idleness* and *ill hours*, draw you into ill mixed *Company*, make you neglect your *Civilities* abroad, and your *Business* at home, and impose into your *Acquaintance* such as will do you no Credit.

To deep *Play* there will be yet greater *Objections*. It will give *Occasion* to the World to ask *spiteful Questions*. How you dare venture so *high*, and what means you have to *pay* such great *summs*? If you pay *exactly*, it will be enquired from whence the *Money* cometh? If you owe, and especially to a Man, you must be so very *Civil* to him for his forbearance, that it layeth a ground of having it farther improved, if the *Gentleman* is so disposed, who will be thought no unfair *Creditor*, if where the *Estate* faileth he seizeth upon the Person. Besides if a *Lady* could see her own Face upon an *ill Game*, at a deep Stake, she would certainly forswear any thing that could put her looks under such a *Disadvantage*.

To *Dance* sometimes will not be imputed to you as a fault; but remember that the end of your *Learning* it, was, that you might the better know how to move *gracefully*. It is only an *advantage* so far. When it goes beyond it, one may call it *excelling* in a Mistake, which is no very great Commendation. It is better for a *Woman* never to *Dance*, because she hath no skill in it, than to do it too often, because she doth it well. The easiest as well as the safest *Method* of doing it, is in *private Companies*, among *particular Friends*, and then carelessly, like a

Drun-

Diversion, rather than with *Solemnity*, as if it was a business, or had any thing in it to deserve a *Month's preparation* by serious Conference with a *Dancing Master*.

Much more might be said on all these Heads, and many more might be added to them. But I must restrain my Thoughts, which are full of my Dear Child, and would overflow into a Volume, which would not be fit for a *New-Years-Gift*. I will conclude with my warmest Wishes for all that is good to you. That you may live so as to be an Ornament to your Family, and a Pattern to your Sex. That you may be blessed with a Husband that may value, and with Children that may inherit your Vertue; That you may shine in the World by a true Light, and silence Envy by deserving to be esteemed; That Wit and Vertue may both conspire to make you a great Figure. When they are separated, the first is so empty, and the other so faint, that they scarce have right to be commended. May they therefore meet and never part; let them be your Guardian Angels, and be sure never to stray out of the distance of their joint protection. May you so raise your Character, that you may help to make the next Age a better thing, and leave Posterity in your Debt for the advantage it shall receive by your Example

Let me conjure you, *My Dearest*, to comply with this kind Ambition of a Father, whose Thoughts are so ingaged in your behalf, that he reckoneth your Happiness to be the greatest part of his own.

THE CHARACTER OF A TRIMMER HIS OPINION OF

I. *The Laws and Government.*
II. *Protestant Religion.*
III. *The Papists.*
IV. *Foreign Affairs.*

Corrected and Amended.

LONDON,
Printed in the Year, 1699.

THE PREFACE.

IT must be more than an ordinary provocation that can tempt a Man to write in an Age over-run with Scribblers, as Egypt was with Flies and Locusts: That worst Vermin of small Authors has given the World such a Surfeit, that instead of desiring to Write, a Man would be more inclin'd to wish, for his own ease, that he could not Read; but there are some things which do so raise our passions, that our Reason can make no Resistance; and when Madmen, in two Extreams, shall agree to make common sense Treason, and joyn to fix an ill Character upon the only Men in the Nation who deserve a good one; I am no longer Master of my better Resolution to let the World alone, and must break loose from my more reasonable Thoughts, to expose these false Coyners, who would make their Copper Wares pass upon us for good Payment.

Amongst all the Engines of Dissention, there has been none more powerful in all Times, than the fixing Names upon one another of Contumely and Reproach, and the reason is

plain, in respect of the People, who tho' generally they are uncapable of making a Syllogism or forming an Argument, yet they can pronounce a word, and that serves their turn to throw it with their dull malice at the Head of those they do not like; such things ever begin in Jest, and end in Earnest, and the same word which at first makes the company merry, grows in time to a Military Signal to cut one another's Throats.

These Mistakes are to be lamented, tho' not easily cured, being suitable enough to the corrupted Nature of Mankind; but 'tis hard, that Men will not only invent ill Names, but they will wrest and misinterpret good ones; so afraid some are even of a reconciling sound, that they raise another noise to keep it from being heard, lest it should set up and encourage a dangerous sort of Men, who prefer Peace and Agreement, before Violence and Confusion.

Were it not for this, why, after we have played the Fool with throwing Whig *and* Tory *at one another, as Boys do Snow-Balls, do we grow angry at a new Name, which by its true signification might do as much to put us into our Wits, as the other has done to put us out of them?*

This innocent word Trimmer *signifies no more than this, That if Men are together in a Boat,*

Boat, and one part of the Company would weigh to down on one side, another would make it lean as much to the contrary; it happens there is a third Opinion of those, who conceive it would do as well, if the Boat went even, without endangering the Passengers; now 'tis hard to imagine by what Figure in Language, or by what Rule in Sense this comes to be a fault, and it is much more a wonder it should be thought a Heresy.

But so it happens, that the poor Trimmer has now all the Powder spent upon him alone, while the Whig is a forgotten, or at least a neglected Enemy; there is no danger now to the State (if some Men may be believed) but from the Beast called a Trimmer, take heed of him, he is the Instrument that must destroy Church and State, a new kind of Monster, whose deformity is so expos'd, that, were it a true Picture that is made of him, it would be enough to fright Children, and make Women miscarry at the sight of it.

But it may be worth the examining, whether he is such a Beast as he is Painted. I am not of that Opinion, and am so far from thinking him an Infidel either in Church or State, that I am neither afraid to expose the Articles of his Faith in Relation to Government, nor to say that I prefer them before any other Political Creed, that either our angry

gry Divines, or our refined States-men would impose upon us.

I have therefore in the following Discourse endeavour'd to explain the Trimmer's *Principles and Opinions, and then leave it to all discerning and impartial Judges, whether he can with Justice be so Arraign'd, and whether those who deliberately pervert a good Name, do not very justly deserve the worst that can be put upon themselves.*

THE

THE Trimmer's Opinion OF THE LAWS AND GOVERNMENT.

OUr Trimmer, as he has a great Veneration for Laws in general, so he has more particular for our own, he looks upon them as the Chains that tye up our unruly Paſſions, which like wild Beaſts let looſe, would reduce the world into its firſt State of Barbariſm and Hoſtility; the good things we injoy, we owe to them; and all the ill things we are freed from is by their Protection.

God himſelf thought it not enough to be a Creator, without being a Lawgiver, and his goodneſs had been defective towards mankind in making them, if he had not pre-

gry Divines, or our refined States-men would impose upon us.

I have therefore in the following Discourse endeavour'd to explain the Trimmer's *Principles and Opinions, and then leave it to all discerning and impartial Judges, whether he can with Justice be so Arraigned, and whether those who delibrately pervert a good Name, do not very fully deserve the worst that can be put upon themselves.*

THE

THE Trimmer's Opinion OF THE LAWS AND GOVERNMENT.

OUr Trimmer, as he has a great Veneration for Laws in general, so he has more particular for our own, he looks upon them as the Chains that tye up our unruly Passions, which like wild Beasts let loose, would reduce the world into its first State of Barbarism and Hostility; the good things we injoy, we owe to them; and all the ill things we are freed from is by their Protection.

God himself thought it not enough to be a Creator, without being a Lawgiver, and his goodness had been defective towards mankind in making them, if he had not pre-

prescribed Rules to make them happ
too.

All Laws flow from that of Nature,
where that is not the Foundation, they m
be legally impos'd, but they will be la
ly obeyed: By this Nature is not mea
that which Fools and Madmen misque
to justify their Excesses, it is innocent
uncorrupted Nature, that which dispo
Men to chuse Vertue, without its be
prescribed, and which is so far from
spiring ill thoughts into us, that we t
pains to suppress the good ones it infuses

The Civilized World has ever paid
willing subjection to Laws, even Conq
rors have done homage to them; as
Romans, who took Patterns of good La
even from those they had subdued;
at the same time that they Triumph'd o
an enslav'd People, the very Laws of t
place did not only remain safe, but beca
Victorious; their new Masters, instead
suppressing them, paid them more respe
than they had from those who first m
them: and by this wise method they
rived to such an admirable Constitutio
of Laws, that to this day they Reign
them; this Excellency of them Triump
still, and the World pays now an ackno
ledgment of their obedience to that Migh
Empi

Empire, though so many Ages after it is dissolved: and by a later instance, the Kings of *France*, who, in practice use their Laws pretty familiarly, yet think their Picture is drawn with most advantage upon their Seals, when they are placed in the Seat of Justice; and that the Hieroglyphick is not there of so much use to the People as they would wish, yet it shews that no Prince is so Great, as not to think fit, for his own Credit at least, to give an outward, when he refuses a real worship to the Laws.

They are to mankind that which the Sun is to Plants, whilst it cherishes and preserves 'em. Where they have their force and are not clouded or suppress, every thing smiles and flourishes: but where they are darkened, and not suffered to shine out, it makes every thing to wither and decay.

They secure Men not only against one another, but against themselves too; they are a Sanctuary to which the Crown has occasion to resort as often as the People, so that it is an Interest as well as a Duty to preserve them.

There would be no end of making a Panegyrick of Laws; let it be enough to add, that without Laws the World would become a Wilderness, and Men little less than Beasts; but with all this, the best

things

things may come to be the worſt, if th
are not in good hands; and if it be
that the wiſeſt Men generally make
Laws, it is as true, that the ſtrongeſt
often interpret them: and as Rivers bea
as much to the Channel where they r
as to the Spring from whence they
riſe, ſo the Laws depend as much upon
Pipes thro' which they are to paſs, as up
the Fountain from whence they flow.

The Authority of a King who is H
of the Law, as well as the Dignity
Publick Juſtice, is debaſed, when the cl
ſtream of the Law is puddled and diſturb
by Bunglers, or convey'd by unclean inſtr
ments to the People.

Our *Trimmer* would have them app
in their full luſtre, and would be grieved
ſee the day, when, inſtead of ſpeakin
with Authority from the Seats of Juſtic
they ſhould ſpeak out of a Grate, with
lamenting voice like Priſoners that de
to be reſcu'd.

He wiſhes that the Bench may have
Natural as well as a Legal Superiority
to the Bar; he thinks Mens abilities very
much miſplac'd, when the Reaſon of him
that pleads is viſibly too ſtrong for thoſe
who Judge and give Sentence.

Whet

When those from the Bar seem to dictate to their Superiours upon the Bench, their Eyes will look scurvily about them, and the respect of the World will leave the bare Character of a Judge, to follow the Essential knowledge of a Lawyer, who may be greater in himself, than the other can be with all his Trappings.

An uncontested Superiority in any Calling, will have the better of any distinct Name that Authority can put upon it, and therefore if ever such an unnatural Method should be introduc'd, it is then that *Westminster Hall* might be said to stand upon its Head, and though Justice it self can never be so, yet the Administration of it would be rendred Ridiculous.

A Judge has such power lodg'd in him, that the King will never be thought to have chosen well, where the voice of Mankind has not before-hand recommended the Man to his Station; when Men are made Judges of what they do not understand, the World censures such a Choice, not out of ill will to the Men, but fear to themselves.

If the King had the sole power of chusing Physicians, Men would tremble to see Bunglers preferred, yet the necessity of taking Physick from a Doctor, is generally not so

so great as that of receiving Justice from a Judge; and yet the Inferences will be very severe in such cases, for either it will be thought that such Men bought what they were not able to deserve, or which is as bad, that Obedience shall be look'd upon as a better Qualification in a Judge than Skill or Integrity, when such sacred things as the Laws are not only touch'd, but guided by prophane hands: Men will fear that out of the Tree of the Law, from whence we expect Shade and Shelter, such Workmen will make Cudgels to beat us with, or rather that they will turn the Canon upon our Properties, that were intrusted with them for their Defence.

To see the Laws Mangled, Disguised, Speak quite another Language than their own, to see them thrown from the Dignity of protecting Mankind, to the disgraceful Office of destroying them; and notwithstanding their Innocence in themselves, to be made the worst Instruments that the most refined Villany can make use of, will raise Mens Anger above the power of laying it down again, and tempt them to follow the Evil Examples given them of Judging without Hearing, when so provoked by their desire of Revenge. Our *Trimmer* therefore, as he thinks the Laws

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are Jewels, so he believes they are no better set, than in the constitution of our *English* Government, if rightly understood, and carefully preserved.

It would be too great Partiality to say they are perfect, or liable to no Objection; such things are not of this world: but if they have more Excellencies and fewer Faults than any other we know, it is enough to recommend them to our Esteem.

The Dispute, which is a greater Beauty, a Monarchy or a Common-wealth, has lasted long between their contending Lovers, (if they have behav'd themselves so like Lovers, who in good Manners must be out of their Wits,) who used such Figures to exalt their own Idols on either side, and such angry Aggravations, to reproach one another in the Contest, that moderate men have in all times smil'd upon this eagerness, and thought it differ'd very little from a downright Frenzy: we in *England*, by a happy use of the Controversie, conclude them both in the wrong, and reject them from being our Pattern, not taking the words in the utmost extent, which is a thing, that Monarchy, leaves men no Liberty, and a Common-wealth such a one, as allows them no Quiet.

We think that a wise Mean, between these barbarous Extreams, is that which self-Preservation ought to dictate to our Wishes; and we may say we have attained to this Mean in a greater measure, than any Nation now in being, or perhaps any we have read of; tho never so much Celebrated for the Wisdom or Felicity of their Constitutions: We take from one the too great power of doing hurt, and yet leave enough to govern and protect us; we take from the other, the Confusion, the Parity, the Animosities, and the License, and yet reserve a due care of such a Liberty, as may consist with Mens Allegiance; but it being hard, if not impossible, to be exactly even, our Government has much the stronger Bias towards Monarchy, which by the general Consent and Practise of Mankind, seems to have the Advantage in dispute against a Common-wealth; The Rules of a Common-wealth are too hard for the Bulk of Mankind to come up to; that Form of Government requires such a spirit to carry it on, as do's not dwell in great Numbers, but is restrained to so very few, especially in this Age, that let the Method appear never so much reasonably in Paper, they must fail in Practice, which will ever be suited more to Mens Nature as it is, than as it should be. Monarchy

Monarchy is lik'd by the People, for the Bells and the Tinſel, the outward Pomp and Gilding, and there muſt be milk for Babes, ſince the greateſt part of Mankind are, and ever will be included in that Liſt; and it is approv'd by wiſe and thinking Men, (all Circumſtances and Objections impartially conſider'd) that it has ſo great an advantage above all other Forms, when the Adminiſtration of that Power falls in good hands; that all other Governments look out of Countenance, when they are ſet in Competition with it. *Lycurgus* might have ſav'd himſelf the trouble of making Laws, if either he had been Immortal, or that he could have ſecur'd to Poſterity, a ſucceeding Race of Princes like himſelf; his own Example was a better Law, than he could with all his skill tell how to make; ſuch a Prince is a Living Law, that dictates to his Subjects, whoſe thoughts in that caſe never riſe above their Obedience, the Confidence they have in the Vertue and Knowledge of the maſter, preventing the Scruples and Apprehenſions to which Men are naturally inclin'd, in relation to thoſe that govern them; ſuch a Magiſtrate is the Life and Soul of Juſtice, whereas the Law is but a Body and a dead one too, without his Influence to give it warmth and vigour,

and by the irresistible Power of his Vertue, he do's so reconcile Dominion and Allegiance, that all disputes between them are silenced and subdued, and indeed no Monarchy can be Perfect and Absolute without exception, but where the Prince is Superior by his Vertue, as well as by his Character and his Power; so that to screw out Precedents and unlimited Power, is a plain diminution to a Prince that Nature has made Great, and who had better make himself a glorious Example to Posterity, than borrow an Authority from Dark Records, raised out of the Grave, which besides their Non-usage, have always in them matter of Controversie and Debate, and it may be affirmed, that the instances are very rare of Princes having the worst in the dispute with their People, if they were Eminent for Justice in time of Peace, or Conduct in time of War, such advantage the Crown giveth to those who adorn it by their own Personal Vertues.

But since for the greater Honour of Good and wise Princes, and the better to set off their Character by the Comparison, Heaven has decreed there must be a mixture, and that such as are perverse and insufficient, or at least both, are perhaps to have their equal turns in the Govern-

Government of the World, and beſides, that the Will of Man is ſo various, and ſo unbounded a thing, and ſo fatal too when joined with Power miſapply'd; it is no wonder if thoſe who are to be govern'd, are unwilling to have ſo dangerous as well as ſo uncertain a Standard of their Obedience.

There muſt be therefore Rules and Laws: for want of which, or at leaſt the Obſervation of them, it was as Capital for a Man to ſay that *Nero* did not play well upon the Lute, as to commit Treaſon, or Blaſpheme the Gods. And even *Veſpaſian* himſelf had like to have loſt his Life, for ſleeping while he ſhould have attended and admir'd that Emperours Impertinence upon the Stage. There is a wantonneſs in great Power that Men are generally too apt to be corrupted with, and for that Reaſon, a wiſe Prince, to prevent the temptation ariſing from common frailty, would chooſe to Govern by Rules for his own Sake, as well as for his Peoples, ſince it only ſecures him from Errors, and does not leſſen the real Authority, that a good Magiſtrate would care to be poſſeſs'd of; for if the Will of a Prince is contrary either to Reaſon it ſelf, or to the univerſal Opinion of his Subjects, the Law by a kind reſtraint reſcues

him from a diſeaſe that would undo him; if his will on the other ſide is reaſonable or well directed, that Will immediately becomes a Law, and he is arbitrary by an eaſie and natural Conſequence, without taking pains, or overturning the World for it.

If Princes conſider Laws as things impos'd on them, they have the appearance of Fetters of Iron, but to ſuch as would make them their choice as well as their practice, they are Chains of Gold; and in that reſpect are Ornaments, as in others they are a defence to them, and by a Compariſon, not improper for God's Vicegerents upon Earth; as our Maker never Commands our obedience to any thing, that as reaſonable Creatures we ought not to make our own Election; ſo a good and wiſe Governour, tho' all Laws were aboliſh'd, would by the voluntary direction of his own Reaſon, do without reſtraint the very ſame things that they would have enjoyned.

Our *Trimmer* thinks that the King and Kingdom ought to be one Creature, not to be ſeparated in their Political Capacity; and when either of them undertake to act a part, it is like the crawling of Worms after they are cut in pieces, which cannot be

be a lasting motion, the whole Creature not stirring at a time. If the Body has a dead Palsie, the Head cannot make it move; and God hath not yet delegated such a healing power to Princes, as that they can in a moment say to a Languishing People oppress'd, and in despair, take up your Beds and walk.

The Figure of a King, is so comprehensive and exalted a thing, that it is a kind of degrading him to lodge that power separately in his own Natural Person, which can never be safely or naturally great, but where the People are so united to him as to be Flesh of his Flesh, and Bone of his Bone; for when he is reduc'd to the single definition of a man, he sinks into so low a Character, that it is a temptation upon Mens Allegiance, and an impairing that veneration which is necessary to preserve their Duty to him; whereas a Prince who is so joined to his people that they seem to be his Limbs, rather than his Subjects, Cloathed with Mercy and Justice rightly apply'd in their several places, his Throne supported by Love as well as by Power, and the warm wishes of his devoted Subjects, like never-failing Incense, still ascending towards him, looks so like the best Image we can frame to our selves of God

Almighty, that men would have much ado not to fall down and worship him, and would be much more tempted to the Sin of Idolatry, than to that of Disobedience.

Our *Trimmer* is of Opinion, that there must be so much Dignity inseparably annexed to the Royal Function, as may be sufficient to secure it from insolence and contempt; and there must be Condescensions from the Throne, like kind showers from Heaven, that the Prince may look so much the more like God Almighty's Deputy upon Earth; for power without love hath a terrifying aspect, and the Worship which is paid to it is like that which the *Indians* give out of fear to Wild Beasts and Devils: he that fears God only because there is an Hell, must wish there were no God; and he who fears the King, only because he can punish, must wish there were no King; so that without a principle of Love, there can be no true Allegiance, and there must remain perpetual Seeds of Resistance against a power that is built upon such an unnatural Foundation, as that of fear and terrour. All force is a kind of foul-Play, and whosoever aims at it himself, does by implication allow it to those he plays with; so that there will be

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ever Matter prepared in the minds of People when they are provoked, and the Prince, to secure himself must live in the midst of his own Subjects, as if he were in a Conquer'd Country, raise Arms as if he were immediately to meet or resist an Invasion, and all this while sleep as unquietly from the fear of the Remedies, as he did before from that of the Disease; it being hard for him to forget, that more Princes have been destroyed by their Guards than by their People; and that even at the time when the Rule was *Quod Principi placuit Lex esto:* the Armies and *Prætorian* Bands which were the Instruments of that unruly Power, were frequently the means made use of to destroy them who had it. There will ever be this difference between God and his Vicegerents, that God is still above the Instruments he uses, and out of the danger of receiving hurt from them; but Princes can never lodge Power in any hands, which may not at some time turn it back upon them; for tho' it is possible enough for a King to have power to satisfy his Ambition, yet no Kingdom has Money enough to satisfie the avarice of under-Work-men, who learn from that Prince who will exact more than belongs to him, to expect from him much more than they deserve, and grow-

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ing angry upon the first disappointment, they are the Devils which grow terrible to the Conjurers themselves who brought them up, and can's send them down again; And besides that there can be no lasting Radical Security, but where the Governed are satisfied with the Governours. It must be a Dominion very unpleasant to a Prince of an elevated Mind, to impose an abject and sordid servility, instead of receiving the willing Sacrifice of Duty and Obedience. The bravest Princes in all times, who were uncapable of any other kind of fear, have fear'd to grieve their own People; such a fear is a glory, and in this sense 'tis an infamy not to be a Coward: So that the mistaken Heroes who are void of this generous kind of fear, need no other aggravation to compleat their ill Characters.

When a Despotick Prince has bruised all his Subjects with a slavish Obedience, all the force he can use cannot subdue his own fears; Enemies of his own Creation, to which he can never be reconciled, it being impossible to do injustice and not to fear Revenge: there is no cure for this fear, but the not deserving to be hurt, and therefore a Prince who does not allow his thoughts to stray beyond the Rules of Justice, has always the blessing of an inward quiet

quiet and assurance, as a natural effect of his good Meaning to his People, and tho he will not neglect due precautions to secure himself in all Events, yet he is uncapable of entertaining vain and remote suspicions of those, of whom he resolves never to deserve ill.

It is very hard for a Prince to fear Rebellion, who neither does, nor intends to do any thing to provoke it; therefore too great a diligence in the Governours, to raise and improve dangers and fears from the People, is no very good Symptom, and naturally begets an inference that they have thoughts of putting their Subjects Allegiance to a Tryal; and therefore not without some Reason fear before hand, that the Irregularities they intend, may raise Men to a Resistance.

Our *Trimmer* thinks it no advantage to a Government, to endeavour the suppressing all kind of Right which may remain in the Body of the People, or to employ small Authors in it, whose Officiousness or want of Money may encourage them to write, tho' it is not very easie to have Abilities equal to such a Subject: they forget that in their too high strained Arguments for the Rights of Princes, they very often plead against humane Nature, which will

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always give a Bias to those Reasons which seem of her side; it is the People that Read those Books, and it is the People that must judge of them; and therefore no Maxim should be laid down for the Right of Government, to which there can be any Reasonable Objection; for the World has an Interest, and for that Reason is more than ordinary discerning to find out the weak sides of such Arguments as are intended to do them hurt; and it is a diminution to a Government, to Promote or Countenance such well affected mistakes which are turned upon it with disadvantage, whenever they are detected and expos'd; and Naturally the too earnest Endeavours to take from Men the Right they have, tempt them, by the Example to Claim that which they have not.

In Power, as in most other things, the way for Princes to keep it, is not to grasp more than their Arms can well hold; the nice and unnecessary enquiring into these things, or the Licensing some Books, and suppressing some others without sufficient Reason to Justifie the doing either, is so far from being an Advantage to a Government, that it exposes it to the Censure of being Partial and to the suspicion, of having some hidden designs to be carried on by these unusual methods. When

When all is said, there is a Natural Reason of State, and undefinable thing, grounded upon the Common Good of Mankind, which is immortal, and in all Changes and Revolutions, still preserves its Original Right of saving a Nation, when the Letter of the Law perhaps would destroy it; and by whatsoever means it moves, carrieth a Power with it, that admits of no opposition, being supported by Nature, which inspires an immediate consent at some Critical times into every individual Member, to that which visibly tendeth to preservation of the whole; and this being so, a Wise Prince instead of Controverting the right of this Reason of State, will by all means endeavour it may be of his side, and then he will be secure.

Our *Trimmer* cannot conceive that the Power of any Prince can be lasting, but where 'tis built upon the foundation of his own unborrowed vertue, he must not only be the first Mover and the Fountain, from whence the great Acts of State originally flow, but he must be thought so to his People that they may preserve their veneration for him; he must be jealous of his Power, and not impart so much of it to any about him, as that he may suffer an Eclipse by it.

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He cannot take too much care to keep himself up, for when a Prince is thought to be led by those, with whom he should onely advise, and that the Commands he gives are transmitted through him, and are not of his own growth, the World will look upon him as a Bird adorned with Feathers that are not his own, or consider him rather as an Engine than a living Creature, besides, 'twould be a Contradiction for a Prince to fear a Commonwealth, and at the same time create one himself, be delegating such a Power to any Number of Men near him, as is inconsistent with the Figure of a Monarch: it is the worst kind of Co-ordination the Crown can submit to; for it is the exercise of Power that draws the respect along with it, and when that is parted with, the bare Character of a King is not sufficient to keep it up; but tho' it is a diminution to a Prince, to parcel out so liberally his Power amongst his Favourites, it's worse to divide with any other Man, and to bring himself in Competition with a single Rival; a Partner in Government is so unnatural a thing, that it is a squint-ey'd Allegiance that must be paid to such a double bottom'd Monarchy. The two Czars of *Muscovy* are an Example that the more civiliz'd part of the World will

will not be proud to follow, whatſoever Cloſe may be put upon this method, by thoſe to whom it may be of ſome uſe, the Prince will do well to remember, and reflect upon the Story of certain Men who had ſet up a Statue in Honour of the Sun, yet in a very little time they turned their backs to the Sun, and their Faces to the Statue.

Theſe Myſtical Unions are better plac'd in the other World, than they are in this, and we ſhall have much ado to find, that in a Monarchy Gods Vicegerency is delegated to more Heads than that which is anointed.

Princes may lend ſome of their Light to make another ſhine, but they muſt ſtill preſerve the ſuperiority of being the brighter Planet, and when it happens that the Reverſion is in Mens Eyes, there is more care neceſſary to keep up the Dignity of Poſſeſſions, that Men may not forget who is King, either out of their hopes or fears who ſhall be. If the Sun ſhou'd part with all his Light to any of the *Stars*, the *Indians* would not know where to find their God, after he had ſo depoſed himſelf, and would make the Light (where-ever it went) the Object of their Worſhip.

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All Usurpation is alike upon Sovereignty, its no matter from what hand it comes, and Crowned Heads are to be the more Circumspect, in respect Mens thoughts are naturally apt to ramble beyond what is present, they love to [illegible] at a distance, and in their greedy Expectations; which their minds may be fill'd with of a new Master, the old one may be left to look a little out of Countenance.

Our *Trimmer* owns a Passion for liberty, yet so restrained, that it does not in the least impair or taint his Allegiance, he thinks it hard for a Soul that does not love Liberty, ever to raise it self to another World he takes it to be the foundation of all vertue, and the only seasoning that gives a relish to life, and tho' the lazines of a slavish subjection, has its Charms for the more grois and earthly part of Mankind, yet to men made of a better sort of Clay, all that the World can give without Liberty has no taste; it is true, nothing is sold so cheap by unthinking men, but that does no more lessen the real value of it, than a Country Fellows Ignorance does that of a Diamond, in selling it for a Pot of Ale. Liberty is the Mistress of Mankind, she has powerful Charms which do so dazzle us, that we find Beauties in her which perhaps

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are not there, as we do in other Miſtreſſes; yet if ſhe was not a Beauty, the World would not run mad for her; therefore ſince the reaſonable deſire of it ought not to be reſtrain'd, and that even the unreaſonable deſire of it cannot be entirely ſuppreſs'd, thoſe who would take it away from a People poſſeſſed of it, are likely to fail in the attempting, or be very unquiet in the keeping of it.

Our *Trimmer* admires our bleſſed Conſtitutions, in which Dominion and Liberty are ſo well reconciled; it gives to the Prince the glorious Power of commanding Freemen, and to the Subject, the ſatisfaction of ſeeing the Power ſo lodged, as that their Liberties are ſecure; it do's not allow the Crown ſuch a Ruining Power, as that no graſs can grow where e're it treads, but a Cheriſhing and Protecting Power; ſuch a one as hath a grim Aſpect only to the offending Subjects, but is the joy and the Pride of all the good ones; their own intereſt being ſo bound up in it, as to engage them to defend and ſupport it; and tho in ſome inſtances the King is reſtrain'd yet nothing in the Government can move without him; our Laws make a diſtinction between Vaſſalage and Obedience; between devouring Prerogatives, and a licentious ungovernable Freedom: and as of all the

Orders of Building, the Compoſite is the beſt, ſo ours by a happy mixture and wiſe choice of what is beſt in others, brought into a Form that is our Felicity who live under it, and the envy of our Neighbour that cannot imitate it.

The Crown has power ſufficient to protect our Liberties. The People have ſo much Liberty as is neceſſary to make them uſeful to the Crown.

Our Government is in a juſt proportion no Tympany, no unnatural ſwelling either of Power or Liberty; and whereas in all overgrown Monarchies, Reaſon, Learning and Enquiry are hang'd in Effigy for Mutineers; here they are encouraged and cheriſhed as the ſureſt Friends to a Government eſtabliſh'd upon the Foundation of Law and Juſtice. When all is done, those who look for Perfection in this World may look as the *Jews* have for their *Meſſias*, and therefore our *Trimmer* is not ſo unreaſonably Partial as to free our Governments and from all objections, no doubt there have been fatal Inſtances of its Sickneſs, and more than that, of its Mortality, for ſometime, tho' by a Miracle, it hath been reviv'd again: but till we have another race of Mankind, in all Conſtitutions that are bounded, there will ever be ſome matter

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of Strife, and Contention, and rather than want pretenſions, Mens Paſſions and Intereſts will raiſe them from the moſt inconſiderable Cauſes.

Our Government is like our Climate, there are Winds which are ſometimes loud and unquiet, and yet with all the Trouble they give us, we owe great part of our Health unto them, they clear the Air, which elſe would be like a ſtanding Pool, and inſtead of Refreſhment would be a Diſeaſe unto us.

There may be freſh Gales of aſſerting Liberty, without turning into ſuch ſtorms of Hurricane, as that the State ſhould run any hazard of being Caſt away by them; theſe ſtruglings which are natural to all mixed Governments, while they are kept from growing in Convulſions, do by a mutual agitation from the ſeveral parts, rather ſupport and ſtrengthen, than weaken or maim the Conſtitution; and the whole frame, inſtead of being torn or diſjointed, comes to be the better and cloſer knit by being thus exerciſed; but what ever faults our Government may have, or a diſcerning Critick may find in it, when he looks upon it alone; let any other be ſet againſt it, and then it ſhews its Comparative Beauty; let us look upon the moſt glittering outſide of unbounded Authority, and upon a neareſt

enquiry, we ſhall find nothing but poo
and miſerable deformity within; let us ima
gine a Prince living in his Kingdom, a
if in a great Gally, his Subjects tuggin
at the Oar, laden with Chains, and reduc
to real Rags, that they may gain hi
imaginary Lawrels; let us Repreſent hi
gazing among his Flatterers, and receivi
their falſe Worſhip, like a Child nev
Contradicted, and therefore always Cozen
or like a Lady complemented only to
abuſed, condemned never to hear Tru
and Conſequently never to do Juſtice, t
lowing in the ſoft Bed of wanton and
bridled Greatneſs, not leſs odious to
Inſtruments themſelves, than to the O
jects of his Tyranny; blown up into
Ambitious Dropſy, never to be ſatisfied
the Conqueſt of other People, or by
Oppreſſion of his own; by aiming to
more than a Man, he falls lower than
meaneſt of 'em, a miſtaken Creature, ſwo
ed with Panegyricks, and flattered out
his Senſes, and not only an Incumbranc
but a Nuiſance to Mankind, a hardened
unrelenting Soul, and like ſome Creatu
that grow fat with Poiſons, he grows gre
by other Mens Miſeries; an Ambitious A
of the Divine Greatneſs, an unruly Gya
that would ſtorm even Heaven it ſelf, bu
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that his ſcaling Ladders are not long enough: in ſhort, a Wild and devouring Creature in rich Trappings, and with all his Pride no more than a Whip in God Almighty's hand, to be thrown into the Fire when the World has been ſufficiently ſcourged with it: This Picture laid in right Colours would not incite Men to wiſh for ſuch a Government, but rather to acknowledge the happineſs of our own, under which we enjoy all the Privilege Reaſonable Men can deſire, and avoid all the Miſeries many others are ſubject to; ſo that our *Trimmer* would keep it with all its faults, and does as little forgive thoſe who give the occaſion of breaking it, as he does thoſe that take it.

Our *Trimmer* is a Friend to Parliaments, notwithſtanding all their faults, and exceſſes, which of late have given ſuch matter of Objection to them; he thinks that tho' they may at ſometimes be troubleſome to Authority, yet they add the greateſt ſtrength to it under a wiſe Adminiſtration; he believes no Government is perfect except a kind of Omnipotence reſide in it, to exerciſe upon great Occaſions: Now this cannot be obtained by force alone upon People, let it be never ſo great, there muſt be their conſent too, or elſe a Nation

moves only by being driven, a ſluggiſh and conſtrained Motion, void of that Life and Vigour which is neceſſary to produce great things, whereas the virtual Conſent of the whole being included in their Repreſentatives, and the King giving the ſanction to the united ſenſe of the People, every Act done by ſuch an Authority, ſeems to be an effect of their choice as well as a part of their Duty; and they do with an eagerneſs, of which Men are uncapable whilſt under a force, execute whatſoever is ſo enjoyned as their own Wills, better explained by Parliament, rather than from the terrour of incurring the Penalty of the Law for omiting it, and by means of this Political Omnipotence, what ever Sap or Juice there is in a Nation, may be to the laſt drop produc'd, whilſt it riſes naturally from the Root; whereas all power exercis'd without conſent, is like the giving Wounds and Gaſhes, and tapping a Tree at unſeaſonable Times, for the preſent occaſion, which in a very little time muſt needs deſtroy it.

Our *Trimmer* believes, that by the advantage of our Situation, there can hardly any ſuch ſudden Diſeaſe come upon us, but that the King may have time enough left to conſult with his Phyſicians in Parliament;

ment; pretences indeed may be made, but a real neceſſity ſo preſſing, that no delay is to be admitted, is hardly to be imagin'd, and it will be neither eaſie to give an inſtance of any ſuch thing for the time paſt, or reaſonable to Preſume it will ever happen for the time to come: but if that ſtrange thing ſhould fall out, our *Trimmer* is not ſo ſtreight-lac'd, as to let a Nation die, or to be ſtifled, rather than it ſhould be help'd by any but the proper Officers. The Caſes themſelves will bring the Remedies along with them; and he is not afraid to ſhow that in order to its preſervation, there is a hidden Power in Government, which would be loſt if it was deſigned, a certain Myſtery, by virtue of which a Nation may at ſome Critical times be ſecur'd from Ruine, but then it muſt be kept as a Myſtery; it is rendred uſeleſs when touch'd by unskilfull hands: and no Government ever had, or deſerv'd to have that Power, which was ſo unwary as to anticipate their claim to it. Our *Trimmer* cannot help thinking it had been better, if the Triennial Act had been obſerv'd; becauſe 'tis the Law, and he would not have the Crown, by ſuch an Example, teach the Nation to break it; all irregularity is catching, it has a Contagion in it, eſpecially in an Age, ſo much

enclin'd to follow ill Patterns than good ones.

He would have a Parliament, becauſe 'tis an Eſſential part of the Conſtitution, even without the Law, it being the only Proviſion in extraordinary Caſes, in which there would be otherwiſe no Remedy, and there can be no greater Soleciſm in Government, than a failure of Juſtice.

He would have had one, becauſe nothing elſe can unite and heal us, all other Means are meer Shifts and Projects, Houſes of Cards, to be blown down with the leaſt Breath, and cannot reſiſt the Difficulties which are ever preſum'd in things of this kind; and he would have had one, becauſe it might have done the King good, and could not poſſibly have done him hurt, without his conſent, which in that Caſe is not to be ſuppoſed, and therefore for him to fear it, is ſo ſtrange and ſo little to be comprehended, that the Reaſons can never be preſum'd to grow in our Soyl, or to thrive in it when Tranſplanted from any other Country; and no doubt there are ſuch irreſiſtible Arguments for calling a Parliament, and tho it might be deny'd to the unmannerly mutinous Petitions of men, that are malicious and diaffected, it will be granted to the ſoft and obſequious Murmurs of his

his Majesty's best Subjects, and there will be such Retorick in their silent Grief, that it will at last prevail against the Artifices of those, who either out of Guilt or Interest, are afraid to throw themselves upon their Country, knowing how scurvily they have used it; that day of Judgment will come, tho we know neither the day nor the hour. And our *Trimmer* would live so as to be prepared for it, with full assurance in the mean time, that the lamenting Voice of a Nation cannot long be resisted, and that a Prince who could so easily forgive his People when they had been in the wrong, cannot fail to hear them when they are in the right.

The Trimmer's *Opinion concerning the Protestant Religion.*

REligion has such a Superiority above other things, and that indispensable Influence upon all Mankind, that it is as necessary to our Living Happy in this World, as it is to our being Sav'd in the next, without it man is an abandon'd Creature, one of the worst Beasts Nature hath produc'd, and fit only for the Society of Wolves and Bears; therefore in all Ages

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it has been the Foundation of Government; and tho' falſe Gods have been impos'd upon the Credulous part of the World, yet they were Gods ſtill in their Opinion, and the Awe and Reverence Men had to them and their Oracles, kept them within bounds towards one another, which the Laws with all their Authority could never have effected without the help of Religion; the Laws would not be able to ſubdue the perverſeneſs of Mens Wills, which are Wild Beaſts, and require a double Chain to keep them down; for this Reaſon 'tis ſaid, That it is not a ſufficient ground to make War upon a Neighbouring State, becauſe they are of another Religion, let it be never ſo differing; yet if they Worſhip'd nor Acknowledg'd any Deity at all, they may be Invaded as Publick Enemies of Mankind, becauſe they reject the only thing that can bind them to live well with one another; the conſideration of Religion is ſo twiſted with that of Government, that it is never to be ſeparated, and tho the Foundations of it ought to be Eternal and Unchangeable, yet the Terms and Circumſtances of Diſcipline, are to be ſuited to the ſeveral Climates and Conſtitutions, ſo that they may keep men in a willing Acquieſcence unto them, without diſcom-

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posing the World by nice disputes, which can never be of equal moment with the publick Peace.

Our Religion here in *England* seems to be distinguished by a peculiar effect of God Almighty's goodness, in permiting it to be introduc'd, or rather restored, by a more regular Method than the Circumstances of most other Reformed Churches would allow them to do, in relation to the Government; and the Dignity with which it has supported it self since, and the great Men our Church hath produced, ought to recommend it to the esteem of all Protestants at least: Our *Trimmer* is very partial to it, for these Reasons, and many more, and desires that it may preserve its due Jurisdiction and Authority? so far he is from wishing it oppressed by the unreasonable and malicious Cavils of those who take pains to raise Objections against it.

The Questions will then be, how and by what Methods this Church shall best support it self (the present Circumstances consider'd) in relation to Dissenters of all sorts: I will first lay this for a ground, That as there can be no true Religion without Charity, so there can be no true humane prudence without bearing and condescension: This Principle does not extend

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to oblige the Church always to yield to those who are disposed to Contest with her, the expediency of doing it is to be considered and determined according to the occasion, and this leads me to lay open the thoughts of our *Trimmer*, in reference first, to the Protestants, and then to the Popish Recusants.

What has lately hapned among us, makes an Apology necessary for saying any thing that looks like favour towards a sort of Men who have brought themselves under such a disadvantage.

The late Conspiracy hath such broad Symptoms of the disaffection of the whole Party, that upon the first reflections, while our thoughts are warm, it would almost perswade us to put them out of the protection of our good Nature, and to think that the Christian Indulgence with our compassion for other Mens Sufferings cannot easily deny, seems not only to be forfeited by the ill appearances that are against them, but even becomes a Crime when it is so misapplied; yet for all this, upon second and cooler thoughts, moderate Men will not be so ready to involve a whole Party in the guilt of a few, and to admit inferences and Presumptions to be Evidence in a Case, where the Sentence must be so heavy, as it

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ought to be againſt all thoſe who have a fixed reſolution againſt the Government eſtabliſhed? beſides, Men who act by a Principle grounded upon Moral Vertue, can never let it be clearly extinguiſhed by the moſt repeated Provocations; if a right thing agreeable to Nature and good Senſe takes root in the heart of a Man, that is impartial and unbyaſs'd, no outward Circumſtances can ever deſtroy it; it's true, the degrees of a Mans Zeal for the Proſecution of it may be differing, faults of other Men, the conſideration of the publick, and the reaſonable Prudence by which Wiſe Men will ever be directed, may give great Allays; they may leſſen and for a time perhaps ſuppreſs the exerciſe of that, which in general Propoſition may be reaſonable, but ſtill whatever is ſo will inevitably grow and ſpring up again, having a Foundation in Nature, which is never to be deſtroy'd.

Our *Trimmer* therefore endeavours to ſeparate the deteſtation of thoſe who had either a hand or a thought in the late Plot, from the Principle of Prudential as well as Chriſtian Charity towards Mankind, and for that reaſon would fain uſe the means of reclaiming ſuch of the Diſſenters as are not incurable, and even bearing to a degree thoſe that are as far as may conſiſt

fiſt with the Publick Intereſt and Security; he is far from juſtifying an affected ſeparation from the Communion of the Church, and even in thoſe that mean well, and are miſtaken, he looks upon it as a Diſeaſe that has ſeized upon their Minds, very troubleſome as well as dangerous, by the Conſequence it may produce: he does not go about to excuſe their making it an indiſpenſable duty, to meet in numbers to ſay their Prayers, ſuch meetings may prove miſchievous to the State at leaſt; the Laws which are the beſt Judges, have determined that there is danger in them: he has good nature enough to lament that the perverſneſs of a Part ſhould have drawn Rigorous Laws upon the whole Body of the Diſſenters, but when they are once made no private Opinion muſt ſtand in Oppoſition to them; if they are in themſelves reaſonable, they are in that reſpect to be regarded, even without being enjoyned, if by the Change of Time and Circumſtances they ſhould become leſs reaſonable than when they were firſt made, even then they are to be obey'd too, becauſe they are Laws, till they are mended or repealed by the ſame Authority that Enacted them.

He has too much deference to the Conſtitution of our Government, to wiſh for more

more Prerogative Declarations in favour of ſcrupulous Men, or to diſpence with Penal Laws in ſuch manner, or to ſuch an end, that ſuſpecting Men might with ſome reaſon pretend, that ſo hated a thing as Perſecution could never make way for it ſelf with any hopes of Succeſs, otherwiſe than by preparing the deluded World by a falſe proſpect of Liberty and Indulgence. The inward Springs and Wheels whereby the Engine moved, are now ſo fully laid open and expos'd that it is not ſuppoſable that ſuch a baffled Experiment ſhould ever be tryed again, the effect it had at the time, and the Spirit it raiſed, will not eaſily be forgotten, and it may be preſum'd the remembrance of it may ſecure us from any more attempts of that Nature for the future; we muſt no more break a Law to give Men eaſe, than we are to Rifle an Houſe with a devout intention of giving the plunder to the Poor; in this caſe, our Compaſſion would be as ill directed, as our Charity in the other.

In ſhort, the veneration due to the Laws is never to be thrown off, let the pretences be never ſo ſpecious; yet with all this he cannot bring himſelf to think, that an extraordinary diligence to take the uttermoſt penalty of Laws, upon the poor offending Neigh-

Neighbour, is of it self such an all sufficient vertue, that without any thing else to recommend Men, it should Entitle them to all kind of Preferments and Rewards; he would not detract from the merits of those who execute the Laws, yet he cannot think such a piece of service as this can entirely change the Man, and either make him a better Divine, or a more knowing Magistrate than he was before, especially if it be done with a partial and unequal hand in Reverence to greater and more dangerous Offenders.

Our *Trimmer* would have those mistaken Men ready to throw themselves into the arms of the Church, and he would have those arms as ready to receive them that shall come to us; he would have no supercilious look to fright those strayed Sheep from coming into the Fold again; no ill-natur'd maxims of an Eternal suspicion, or a belief that those who have once been in the wrong can never be in the right again; but a visible preparation of mind to receive with joy all the Proselytes that come amongst us, and much greater earnestness to reclaim than punish them: It is to be confessed, there is a great deal to forgive, a hard task enough for the Charity of a Church so provoked;

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but that must not cut off all hopes of being reconciled, yet if there must be some anger left still, let it break out into a Christian Revenge, and by being kinder to the Children of Disobedience than they deserve, let the injur'd Church Triumph, by throwing shame and confusion of face upon them; there should not always be Storms and Thunder, a clear Sky would sometime make the Church look more like Heaven, and would do more towards the reclaiming those wanderers, than a perpetual terrour, which seemed to have no intermission; for there is in many, and particularly in *English Men*, a mistaken pleasure, in resisting the dictates of Rigorous Authority; a Stomach that riseth against a hard imposition, nay, in some, raise even a lust in suffering from a wrong point of Honour, which does not want the applause, from the greater part of Mankind, who have not learnt to distinguish; constancy will be thought a virtue even where it is a mistake; and the ill Judging World will be apt to think that Opinion most right, which produces the greatest number of those who are willing to suffer for it; all this is prevented, and falls to the ground, by using well-timed Indulgence; and the stubborn Adversary who values himself upon

his Resistance whilst he is oppress'd, yield insensibly to kind Methods, when they are apply'd to him, and the same Man natu-rally melts into Conformity, who perhaps would never have been beaten into it. We may be taught by the Compassion that attendeth the most Criminal Men when they are Condemned, that Faults are much more natural things than Punishments, and that even the most necessary acts of severity do some kind of violence to our Nature, whose Indulgence will not be confined with-in the strait bounds of inexorable Justice; so that this should be an Argument to gentleness, besides that it is the likeliest way to make these Men asham'd of their Separation, whilst the pressing them too hard, tends rather to make them proud of it.

Our *Trimmer* would have the Clergy supported in their Lawful Rights, and in all the Power and Dignity that belongs to them, and yet he thinks that possibly there may be in some of them a too great eagerness to extend the Ecclesiastical Juris-diction; which tho it may be well intend-ed, yet the straining of it too high has the appearance of Ambition that raises many Objections to it, and is far unlike the Apo-stolick Zeal, which was quite otherwise em-

employ'd, that the World draws inferences from it, which do the Church no ſervice.

He is troubled to ſee Men of all ſides ſick of a Calenture of a miſtaken Devotion, and it ſeems to him that the devout Fire of miſtaken Charity with which the Primitive Chriſtians were inflam'd, is long ſince extinguiſh'd, and inſtead of it a devouring Fire of Anger and Perſecution breaks out in the World; we wrangle now one with another about Religion till the Blood comes, whilſt the Ten Commandments have no more authority with us, than if they were ſo many obſolete Laws or Proclamations out of date; he thinks that a Nation will hardly be mended by Principles of Religion, where Morality is made a Herely; and therefore as he believes Devotion miſplaced when it gets into a Conventicle, he concludes that Loyalty is ſo too, when lodg'd in a Drunken Club; thoſe Vertues deſerve a better Seat of Empire, and they are degraded, when ſuch Men undertake their defence, as have too great need of an Apology themſelves.

Our *Trimmer* wiſhes that ſome knowledge may go along with the Zeal on the right ſide, and that thoſe who are in poſſeſſion of the Pulpit, would quote at leaſt ſo often the Authority of the Scriptures as

they do that of the State; there are many who borrow too often Arguments from the Government, to use against their Adversaries, and neglect those that are more proper, and would be more powerful; a Divine grows less, and puts a diminution on his own Character, when he quoteth any Law but that of God Almighty, to get the better of those who contest with him; and it is a sign of a decay'd Constitution, when Nature with good diet cannot expel noxious Humours without calling Foreign Drugs to her Assistance: So it looks like want of health in a Church, when instead of depending upon the power of that Truth which it holds, and the good Examples of them that teach it, to support it self, and to suppress Errors, it should have a perpetual recourse to the secular Authority, and even upon the slightest occasions.

Our *Trimmer* has his Objections to the too busy diligence, and to the overdoing of some of the dissenting Clergy, and he does as little approve of those of our Church, who wear God Almighty's Liveries, as some old Warders in the *Tower* do the King's, who do nothing in their place but receive their Wages for it; he thinks that the Liberty of the late times gave men so much Light, and diffused it so

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universally amongst the people, that they are not now to be dealt with, as they might have been in Ages of less enquiry; and therefore in some well chosen and dearly beloved Auditories, good resolute Nonsence back'd with Authority may prevail, yet generally Men are become so good Judges of what they hear, that the Clergy ought to be very wary how they go about to impose upon their Understandings, which are grown less humble than they were in former times, when the Men in black had made Learning such a sin in the Laity, that for fear of offending, they made a Conscience of being able to read; but now the World is grown sawcy, and expects Reasons, and good ones too, before they give up their own Opinions to other Mens Dictates, tho never so Magisterially deliver'd to them.

Our *Trimmer* is far from approving the Hypocrisie, which seems to be the reigning Vice amongst some of the Dissenting Clergy, he thinks it the most provoking sin Men can be guilty of, in Relation to Heaven, and yet (which may seem strange) that very sin which shall destroy the Soul of the Man who preaches, may help to save those of the Company that hear him, and even those who are cheated by the false Ostentation of his strictness of life, may

by that Pattern be encouraged to the real Practice of those Christian Vertues which he does so deceitfully profess; so that the detestation of this fault may possibly be carry'd on too far by our own Orthodox Divines, if they think it cannot be enough expres'd without bending the Stick another way; a dangerous Method, and a worse Extream for Men of that Character, who by going to the outmost line of Christian Liberty, will certainly encourage others to go beyond it: No Man does less approve the ill-bred Methods of some of the Dissenters, in rebuking Authority, who behave themselves as if they thought ill manners necessary to Salvation; yet he cannot but distinguish and desire a Mean between the sawcyness of some of the *Scotch Apostles*, and the undecent Courtship of some of the Silken Divines, who, one would think, do practice to bow at the Altar, only to learn to make the better Legs at Court.

Our *Trimmer* approves the Principles of our Church, that Dominion is not founded in Grace, and that our Obedience is to be given to a Popish King in other things, at the same time that our Compliance with him in his Religion is to be deny'd; yet he cannot but think it a very extraordinary thing if a Protestant Church should by a voluntary Elecri-

Election, chuſe a Papiſt for their Guardian, and receive Directions for ſupporting their Religion, from one who muſt believe it a Mortal Sin not to endeavour to deſtroy it; ſuch a refined piece of Breeding would not ſeem to be very well plac'd in the Clergy, who will hardly find Precedents to juſtify ſuch an extravagant piece of Courtſhip, and which is ſo unlike the Primitive Methods, which ought to be our Pattern; he hath no ſuch unreaſonable tenderneſs for any ſorts of Men, as to expect their faults ſhould not be impartially laid open as often as they give occaſion for it; and yet he cannot but ſmile to ſee that the ſame Man, who ſets up all the Sails of his Rhetorick, to fall upon Diſſenters; when Popery is to be handled, he does it ſo gingerly, that he looketh like an Aſs mumbling of Thiſtles, ſo afraid he is of letting himſelf looſe where he may be in danger of letting his Duty get the better of his Diſcretion.

Our *Trimmer* is far from reliſhing the impertinent wandrings of thoſe who pour out long Prayers upon the Congregation, and all from their own Stock, which God knows, for the moſt part is a barren Soil, which produces weeds inſtead of Flowers, and by this means they expoſe Religion it ſelf, rather than promote

Mens Devotions: On the other side, there may be too great Restraint put upon Men, whom God and Nature hath distinguished from their Fellow Labourers, by blessing them with a happier Talent, and by giving them not only good Sense, but a powerful Utterance too, has enabled them to gush out upon the attentive Auditory, with a mighty stream of Devout and unaffected Eloquence; when a Man so qualified, endued with Learning too, and above all, adorn'd with a good Life, breaks out into a warm and well deliver'd Prayer before his Sermon, it has the appearance of a Divine Rapture, he raises and leads the Hearts of the Assembly in another manner, than the most Compos'd or best Studied Form of set Words can ever do; and the Pray-wees, who serve up all their Sermons with the same Garnishing, would look like so many Statues, or Men of Straw in the Pulpit, compar'd with those who speak with such a powerful Zeal, that men are tempted at the moment to believe Heaven it self has dictated their words to 'em.

Our *Trimmer* is not so unreasonably indulgent to the Dissenters, as to excuse the Irregularities of their Complaints, and to approve their threatning Stiles, which are

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ſo ill-ſuited to their Circumſtances as well as their Duty; he would have them to ſhew their Grief, and not their Anger to the Government, and by ſuch a Submiſſion to Authority, as becomes them, if they cannot acquieſce in what is impoſed; let them deſerve a Legiſlative Remedy to their Sufferings, there being no other way to give them perfect redreſs; and either to ſeek it, or pretend to give it by any other Method, would not only be vain, but Criminal too in thoſe that go about it; yet with all this, there may in the mean time be a prudential Latitude left, as to the manner of preventing the Laws now in force againſt them: The Government is in ſome degree anſwerable for ſuch an Adminiſtration of them, as may be free from the Cenſure of Impartial Judges; and in order to that, it would be neceſſary that one of theſe methods be purſued, either to let looſe the Laws to their utmoſt extent, without any Moderation or Reſtraint, in which at leaſt the Equality of the Government would be without Objection, the Penalties being exacted without Remiſſion from the Diſſenters of all kinds; or if that will not be done (and indeed there is no Reaſon it ſhould) there is a neceſſity of ſome Connivance to the Proteſtant Diſſenters to exe-

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cute that which in Humanity must be allowed to the Papists, even without any leaning towards them, which must be supposed in those who are or shall be in the administration of publick Business; and it will follow that, according to our Circumstances, the distribution of such connivance must be made in such a manner, that the greatest part of it may fall on the Protestant side, or else the Objections will be so strong, and the Inferences so clear, that the Friends, as well as the Enemies of the Crown, will be sure to take hold of them.

It will not be sufficient to say that the Papists may be conniv'd at, because they are good Subjects and that the Protestant Dissenters, must suffer because they are ill ones; these general Maxims will not convince discerning Men, neither will any late Instances make them forget what passed at other times in the World; both sides have had their Turns in being good and ill Subjects. And therefore 'tis easie to imagine what suspicions would arise in the present conjuncture, if such a partial Argument as this should be impos'd upon us; the truth is, this Matter speaks so much of it self, that it is not only unnecessary, but it may be mannerly to say any more of it.

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Our *Trimmer* therefore could wish, that since notwithstanding the Laws which deny Churches to say Mass in; even not only the Exercise, but also the Ostentation of Popery is as well or better performed in the Chappels of so many Foreign Ministers, where the *English* openly resort in spight of Proclamations and Orders of Council, which are grown to be as harmless things to them, as the Popes Bulls and Excommunications are to Heretieks who are out of his reach; I say he could wish that by a seasonable as well as an equal piece of Justice, there might be so much consideration had of the Protestant Dissenters, as that there might be at sometimes, and at some places, a Veil thrown over an Innocent and retired Conventicle, and that such an Indulgence might be practis'd with less prejudice to the Church, or diminution to the Laws; it might be done so as to look rather like a kind Omission to enquire more strictly, than an allow'd Toleration of that which is against the Rule established.

Such a skilful hand as this is very Necessary in our Circumstances, and the Government by making no sort of Men entirely desperate, does not only secure it self from Villainous attempts, but lay such a Foundation for healing and uniting Laws, when

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ever a Parliament shall meet, that the Seeds of Differences and Animosities between the several contending sides may (Heaven consenting) be for ever destroy'd.

The Trimmer's *Opinion concerning the Papists.*

TO speak of Popery leads me into such a Sea of Matter, that it is not safe to forbear launching into it, being invited by such a fruitful Theme, and by a variety never to be exhausted; but to confine it to the present Subject, I will only say a short word of the Religion it self; of its influences here at this time; and of our *Trimmer's* Opinion in Relation to our manner of living with them.

If a Man would speak Maliciously of this Religion, one may say it is like those Diseases, where as long as one drop of the infection remains, there is still danger of having the whole Mass of Blood corrupted by it. In *Swedeland* there was an absolute cure, and nothing of Popery heard of, till Queen *Christina*, (whether mov'd by Arguments of this or the other World, may not be good Manners to enquire) thought

thought fit to change her Religion and Country, and to live at *Rome*, where she might find better judges of her Virtues, and less ungentle Censures of those Princely Liberties, to which she was sometimes disposed, than she left at *Stockholme*; where the good breeding is as much inferior to that of *Rome* in general, as the Civility of the Religion. The Cardinals having rescued the Church from those Clownish Methods the Fishermen had first introduc'd, and mended that Pattern so effectually, that a Man of that Age, if he should now come into the World, would not possibly know it.

In *Denmark* the Reformation was entire; in some States of *Germany*, as well as *Geneva*, the Cure was universal; but in the rest of the World where the Protestant Religion took place, the Popish humour was too tough to be totally expell'd, and so it was in *England*, tho' the Change was made with all the advantage imaginable to the Reformation, it being Countenanc'd and introduc'd by Legal Authority, and by that means, might have been perhaps as perfect as in any other Place, if the short Reign of *Edward* the 6th, and the succession of a Popish Queen had not given such advantage to that Religion, that it has subsisted ever

since

ſince under all the hardſhips that have been put upon it; it has been a ſtrong Compact Body, and made the more ſo by theſe Sufferings; it was not ſtrong enough to prevail, but it was able, with the help of foreign ſupport, to carry on an Intereſt which gave the Crown trouble, and to make a conſiderable (not to ſay dangerous) Figure in the Nation; ſo much as this could not have been done without ſome hopes, nor theſe hopes kept up without ſome reaſonable grounds: In Queen *Elizabeth's* time, the *Spaniſh* Zeal for their Religion, and the Revenge for 88, gave warmth to the Papiſts here, and above all the Right of the Queen of *Scots* to ſucceed, was while ſhe lived ſufficient to give them a better proſpect of their Affairs: In King *James's* time their hopes were ſupported by the Treaty of the *Spaniſh* Match, and his gentleneſs towards them, which they were ready to interpret more in their own Favour, than was either reaſonable or became them, ſo little tenderneſs they have, even where it is moſt due, if the Intereſt of their Religion comes in competition with it.

As for the late King, tho he gave the moſt glorious Evidence that ever Man did of his being a Proteſtant, yet, by the more than ordinary Influence the Queen was thought

thought to have over him, and it so happening that the greatest part of his Anger was directed against the *Puritans*, there was such an advantage to Men disposed to suspect, that they were ready to interpret it a leaning towards Popery, without which handle it was Morally impossible, that the ill-affected part of the Nation could ever have seduc'd the rest into a Rebellion.

That which help'd to confirm many well meaning Men in their Misapprehensions of the King, was the long and unusual intermission of Parliaments; so that every year that passed without one, made up a new Argument to increase their Suspicion, and made them presume that the Papists had a principal hand in keeping them off; This raised such Heats in Mens Minds, to think that Men who were obnoxious to the Laws, instead of being punished, should have Credit enough to serve themselves; even at the price of destroying the Fundamental Constitution; that it broke out into a Flame, which before it could be quenched, had almost reduc'd the Nation to Ashes.

Amongst the miserable Effects of that unnatural War, none hath been more fatal to us, than the forcing our Princes to breathe in another Air, and to receive the early impressions of a Foreign Education; the Barbarity

harity of the *Engliſh*, towards the King and the Royal Family, mighty very well tempt him to think the better of every thing he found abroad, and might naturally produce more gentleneſs, at leaſt, towards a Religion by which he was hoſpitably received, at the ſame time that he was thrown off and Perſecuted by the Proteſtants, (tho' his own Subjects) to aggravate the Offence. The Queen Mother, (as generally Ladies do with Age) grew moſt devout and earneſt in her Religion; and beſides, the temporal Rewards of getting larger Subſidies from the *French* Clergy, ſhe had Motives of another kind, to perſwade her to ſhew her Zeal; and ſince by the *Roman* Diſpenſatory, a Soul converted to the Church is a Soveraign Remedy, and lays up a mighty ſtock of merit, ſhe was ſolicitous to ſecure her ſelf in all Events, and therefore firſt ſet upon the Duke of *Glocester*, who depended ſo much upon her good will, that ſhe might for that reaſon have been induc'd to believe, the Conqueſt would not be difficult; but it ſo fell out, that he either from his own Conſtancy, or that he had thoſe near him by whom he was otherways advis'd, choſe rather to run away from her importunity, than by ſtaying to bear the continual weight of it: It is believ'd ſhe had better ſucceſs with

with another of her Sons, who, if he was not quite brought off from our Religion, at leaſt ſuch beginnings were made, as made them very eaſie to be finiſh'd; his being of a generous and aſpiring Nature, and in that reſpect, leſs patient in the drudgery of Arguing, might probably help to recommend a Church to him, that exempts the Laity from the vexation of enquiring; perhaps he might (tho by miſtake) look upon that Religion as more favourable to the enlarged Power of Kings, a conſideration which might have its weight with a young Prince of his warm blood, and that was brought up in Arms.

I cannot hinder my ſelf from a ſmall digreſſion, to conſider with admiration, that the old Lady of *Rome*, with all her wrinkles, ſhould yet have Charms, able to ſubdue great Princes; ſo far from handſome, and yet ſo imperious; ſo painted, and yet ſo pretending; after having abus'd, depos'd, and murther'd ſo many of her Lovers, ſhe ſtill finds others glad and proud of their new Chains; a thing ſo ſtrange) to indifferent Judges, that thoſe who will allow no other Miracles in the Church of *Rome*, muſt needs grant that this is one not to be conteſted; ſhe ſits in her Shop, and ſells at dear Rates her Rattles and her Hobby-Horſes,

whilſt the deluded World ſtill continues to furniſh her with Cuſtomers.

But whither am I carried with this Contemplation? it is high time to return to my Text, and to conſider the wonderful manner of the Kings coming home again, led by the hand of Heaven, and called by the Voice of his own People, who receiv'd him, if poſſible, with Joys equal to the Bleſſing of Peace and Union which his Reſtauration brought along with it; by this there was an end put to the hopes ſome might have abroad, of making uſe of his leſs happy Circumſtances, to throw him into Foreign Intereſts and Opinions, which had been wholly inconſiſtent with our Religion, our Laws, and all other things that are dear to us; yet for all this ſome of their Tinctures and impreſſions might ſo far remain, as tho' they were very innocent in him, yet they might have ill effects here, by ſoftning the Animoſity which ſeems neceſſary to the Defender of the Proteſtant Faith, in oppoſition to ſuch a powerful and irreconcilable an Enemy.

You may be ſure, that among all the ſorts of Men who apply'd themſelves to the King at his firſt coming home, for his Protection, the Papiſts were not the laſt, nor as they fain would have flatter'd themſelves,

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the leaſt welcome; having their paſt Sufferings, as well as their preſent Profeſſions to recommend them; and there was ſomething that look'd like a particular Conſideration of them, ſince it ſo happened, that the Indulgence promiſed to Diſſenters at *Breda*, was carried, on in ſuch a manner, that the Papiſts were to divide with them, and tho' the Parliament, notwithſtanding its Reſignation to the Crown in all things, rejected with ſcorn and anger a Declaration framed for this purpoſe, yet the Birth and Repeal of it gave ſuch an alarm, that Mens Suſpicions once raiſed, were not eaſily laid aſleep again.

To omit other things, the breach of the Triple League, and the *Dutch* War with its appurtenances, carried Jealouſies to the higheſt pitch imaginable, and fed the hopes of one Party, and the fears of the Other to ſuch a degree, that ſome Critical Revolutions were generally expected, when the ill ſucceſs of that War, and the Sacrifice *France* thought fit to make of the Papiſts here, to their own intereſt abroad, gave them another Check; and the Act of enjoyning the Teſt to all in Offices, was thought to be no ill Bargain to the Nation, tho' bought at the Price of 1200000 pound, and the Money apply'd to continue the War againſt the

Dutch, than which nothing could be more unpopular or leſs approved. Notwithſtanding the diſcouragements, Popery is a Plant that may be mowed down, but the Root will ſtill remain, and in ſpite of the Laws, it will ſprout up and grow again; eſpecially if it ſhould happen that there ſhould be Men in Power, who in weeding it out of our Garden, will take care to Cheriſh and keep it alive; and tho' the Law for excluding them from Places of Truſt was tolerably kept as to their outward Form, yet there were many Circumſtances, which being improved by the quick-ſighted Malice of ill affected Men, did help to keep up the World in their ſuſpicions, and to blow up Jealouſies to ſuch a height both in and out of Parliament, that the remembrance of them is very unpleaſant, and the Example ſo extravagant, that it is to be hop'd nothing in our Age like it will be re-attempted; but to come cloſer to the Caſe in queſtion in this Condition we ſtand with the Papiſts, what ſhall now be done according to our *Trimmer's* Opinion, in order to the better Bearing this grievance, ſince as I have ſaid before, there is no hopes of being entirely free from it; Papiſts we muſt have among us, and if their Religion keep them from bringing honey to the Hive, let the Govern-

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ment try at leaſt by gentle means to take away the Sting from them. The firſt Foundation to be laid is, that a diſtinct Conſideration is to be had of the Popiſh Clergy, who have ſuch an eternal Intereſt againſt all accommodation, that it is a hopeleſs thing to propoſe any thing to them leſs than all; their Stomachs have been ſet for it ever ſince the Reformation, they have pinned themſelves to a Principal that admits no mean: they believe Proteſtants will be damn'd, and therefore by an extraordinary Effect of Chriſtian Charity, they would deſtroy one half of *England* that the other might be ſaved; then for this World, they muſt be in poſſeſſion for God Almighty, to receive his Rents for him, not to accompt till the Day of Judgment, which is a good kind of Tenure, and ye cannot well blame the good Men, that will ſtir up the Laity to run any hazard in order to the getting them reſtor'd. What is it to the Prieſt, if the deluded Zealot undoes himſelf in the Attempt? he ſings Maſſes as jollily, and with as good a Voice at *Rome* or *St. Omers* as ever he did; is a ſingle Man, and can have no wants but ſuch as may be eaſily ſupply'd. yet that he may not ſeem altogether inſenſible, or ungrateful to thoſe that are his Martyrs, he is ready to aſſure their

Executors, and if they pleaſe, will procure a Grant *ſub Annulo Piſcatoris*, that the good Man by being changed, has got a good Bargain, and ſav'd the ſinging of ſome hundred of years, which he would elſe have had in Purgatory. There's no Cure for this Order of Men, no Expedient to be propos'd, ſo that tho the utmoſt ſeverity of the Laws againſt them, may in ſome ſort be mitigated, yet no Treaty can be made with Men who in this Caſe have left themſelves no free Will, but are ſo muffled by Zeal, tyed by Vows, and kept up by ſuch unchangeable Maxims of the Prieſthood, that they are to be left as deſperate Patients, and look'd upon as Men that will continue in an Eternal State of Hoſtility, till the Nation is entirely ſubdued to them. It is then only the Lay Papiſts that are capable of being treated with, and we are to examine of what temper they are, and what Arguments are the moſt likely to prevail upon them, and how far 'tis adviſeable for the Government to be Indulgent to them; the Lay Papiſts generally keep their Religion, rather becauſe they will not break Company with thoſe of their Party, than out of any ſettled Zeal that hath Root in them; moſt of them do by the Mediation of the Prieſts Marry amongſt one

one another, to keep up an Ignorant Poſition by hearing only one ſide; others by a miſtake look upon it as the Eſcutcheons of the more Antient Religion of the two; and as ſome Men of a good Pedigree, will deſpiſe meaner Men, tho' never ſo much ſuperior to them by Nature, ſo theſe undervalue Reformation as an Upſtart, and think there is more Honour in ſupporting an old Errour, than in embracing what ſeems to them to be a new Truth; the Laws have made them Men of Pleaſure, by excluding them from Publick Buſineſs, and it happens well they are ſo, ſince they will the more eaſily be perſwaded by Arguments of Eaſe and Conveniency to them; they have not put off the Man in general, nor the *Engliſhman* in particular, thoſe who in the late ſtorm againſt them went into other Countries, tho they had all the Advantage that might recommend them to a good Reception, yet in a little time they choſe to ſteal over again, and live here with hazard, rather than abroad with ſecurity. There is a Smell in our Native Earth, better than all the Perfumes in the Eaſt; there is ſomething in a Mother, tho never ſo Angry, that the Children will more naturally truſt Her, than the Studied Civilities of Strangers, let them be never ſo Hoſpitable; therefore

'tis not adviſeable nor agreeing with the Rules of Governing Prudence, to provoke Men by hardſhips to forget that Nature, which elſe is ſure to be of our ſide.

When theſe Men by fair Uſage are put again into their right Senſes, they will have quite differing Reflections from thoſe which Rigour and Perſecution had raiſed in them: A Lay Papiſt will firſt conſider his Abby-Lands, which notwithſtanding whatever has or can be alledged, muſt ſink conſiderably in the Value, the moment that Popery prevails; and it being a diſputable Matter, whether Zeal might not in a little time get the better of the Law in that caſe; a conſidering Man will admit that as an Argument to perſwade him, to be content with things as they are, rather than run this or any other hazard by Change, in which perhaps he may have no other Advantage, than that his new humble Confeſſor may be rais'd to a Biſhoprick, and from thence look down ſuperciliouſly upon his Patron, or which is worſe, run to take Poſſeſſion for God Almighty of his Abby, in ſuch a manner as the uſurping Landlord (as he will then be called) ſhall hardly be admitted to be ſo much as a Tenant to his own Land's, leſt his Title ſhould prejudge that of the Church, which will then be the Language;

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he will think what diſadvantage 'tis to be looked upon as a ſeparate Creature, depending upon a Foreign Intereſt and Authority, and for that reaſon, expos'd to the Jealouſie and Suſpicion of his Country-men; he will reflect what Incumbrance it is to have his Houſe a Paſture for hungry Prieſts to graze in, which have ſuch a never-failing Influence upon the Fooliſh, which is the greateſt part of every Man's Family, that a Man's Dominion, even over his own Children, is mangled, and divided, if not totally undermin'd by them; then to be ſubject to what Arbitrary Taxes the Popiſh Convocation ſhall impoſe upon them for the carrying on the Common Intereſt of that Religion, under Penalty of being mark'd out for half Hereticks by the reſt of the Party; to have no ſhare in Buſineſs, no opportunity of ſhewing his own Value to the World; to live at the beſt an uſeleſs, and by others to be thought a dangerous Member of the Nation where he is born, is a burthen to a generous Mind that cannot be taken off by all the Pleaſure of a lazy unmanly life, or by the nauſeous enjoyment of a dull Plenty, that produceth no good for the Mind, which will be conſidered in the firſt place by a Man that has a Soul; when he ſhall think, that if his Religion,

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after his wading through a Sea of Blood, come at last to prevail, it would infinitely lessen, if not entirely destroy the Glory, Riches, Strength and Liberty of his own Country. And what a Sacrifice is this to make to *Rome*, where they are wise enough to wonder there should be such Fools in the World, as to venture, struggle, and contend, nay even die Martyrs for that which, should it succeed, would prove a Judgment instead of a Blessing to them; he will conclude that the advantages of throwing some of their Children back again to God Almighty when they have too many of them, are not equal to the Inconveniencies they may either feel or fear, by continuing their separation from the Religion established.

Temporal things will have their weight in the World, and tho Zeal may prevail for a time, and get the better in a Skirmish, yet the War ends generally on the side of Flesh and Blood, and will do so till Mankind is another thing than it is at present: And therefore a wise Papist in cold Blood, considering these and many other Circumstances, which 'twill be worth his pains to see if he can unmuffle himself from the Mask of Infallibility, will think it reasonable to set his Imprison'd Senses at Liberty,

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and that he has a right to ſee with his own Eyes, hear with his own Ears, and judge by his own Reaſon; the conſequence of which might probably be, that weighing things in a right Scale, and ſeeing them in their true Colours, he would diſtinguiſh between the merit of ſuffering for a good Cauſe, and the fooliſh oſtentation of drawing inconveniences upon himſelf; and therefore will not be unwilling to be convinc'd that our Proteſtant Creed may make him happy in the other World, and the eaſier in this. A few of ſuch wiſe Proſelytes would by their Example draw ſo many after them, that the Party would inſenſibly melt away, and in a little time, without any angry word, we ſhould come to an Union, that all Good Men would have Reaſon to rejoyce at; but we are not to preſume upon theſe Converſions, without preparing Men for them by kind and reconciling Arguments; nothing is ſo againſt our Nature, as to believe thoſe can be in the right who are too hard upon us; there is a deformity in every thing that doth us hurt, it will look ſcurvily in our Eye while the ſmart continues, and a Man muſt have an extraordinary Meaſure of Grace, to think well of a Religion that reduces him and his Family to Miſery;

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in this reſpect our *Trimmer* would conſent to the mitigation of ſuch Laws as were made, (as it's ſaid King *Henry* VIII. got Queen *Elizabeth*) in a heat againſt *Rome*; It may be ſaid that even States as well as private Men are ſubject to Paſſion; a juſt indignation of a villainous Attempt produces at the ſame time ſuch Remedies, as perhaps are not without ſome mixture of Revenge, and therefore tho time cannot Repeal a Law, it may by a Natural Effect ſoften the Execution of it; there is leſs danger to Rouſe a Lyon when at Reſt, than to awake Laws that were intended to have their time of Sleeping, nay more than that, in ſome Caſes their Natural periods of Life, dying of themſelves without the Solemnity of being revok'd, any otherwiſe than by the common conſent of Mankind, who do ceaſe to Execute, when the Reaſons in great Meaſure fail that firſt Created and Juſtify'd the Rigour of ſuch unuſual Penalties.

Our *Trimmer* is not eager to pick out ſome places in Hiſtory againſt this or any other Party; quite contrary, is very ſolicitous to find out any thing that may be healing, and tend to an Agreement; but to preſcribe the means of this Gentleneſs ſo as to make it effectual, muſt come from the

the only place that can furniſh Remedies for this Cure, *viz.* a Parliament; in the mean time, it is to be wiſhed there may be ſuch a mutual calmneſs of Mind, as that the Proteſtants might not be ſo jealous, as ſtill to ſmell the Match that was to blow up the King and both Houſes in the Gunpowder Treaſon, or to ſtart at every appearance of Popery, as if it were juſt taking poſſeſſion. On the other ſide, let not the Papiſts ſuffer themſelves to be led by any hopes, tho never ſo flattering, to a Confidence or Oſtentation which muſt provoke Men to be leſs kind to them; let them uſe Modeſty on their ſides, and the Proteſtants Indulgence on theirs; and by this means there will be an overlooking of all Venial Faults, a tacit connivence at all things that do not carry Scandal with them, and would amount to a kind of Natural Diſpenſation with the ſevere Laws, ſince there would be no more Accuſers to be found, when the occaſions of Anger and Animoſity are once remov'd; let the Papiſts in the mean time remember, that there is a reſpect due from all leſſer numbers to greater, a deference to be paid by an Opinion that is Exploded, to one that is Eſtabliſhed; ſuch a Thought well digeſted will have an influence upon their Behaviour, and pro-

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duce such a Temper as must win the most eager Adversaries out of their ill Humour to them, and give them a Title to all the Favour that may be consistent with the Publick Peace and Security.

The Trimmer's *Opinion in Relation to things abroad.*

THE World is so compos'd, that it is hard, if not impossible, for a Nation not to be a great deal involv'd in the fate of their Neighbours, and tho by the felicity of our Situation, we are more Independant than any other People, yet we have in all Ages been concern'd for our own sakes in the Revolutions abroad. There was a time when *England* was the over balancing Power of Christendom, and that either by Inheritance or Conquest, the better part of *France* receiv'd Laws from us; after that we being reduc'd into our own Limits, *France* and *Spain* became the Rivals for the Universal Monarchy, and our third Power, tho in it self less than either of the other, hapned to be Superiour to any of them, by that choice we had of throwing the Scales on that side to which we gave

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our Friendship. I do not know whether this Figure did not make us as great as our former Conqueſt, to be a perpetual Umpire of two great contending Powers, who gave us all their Courtſhip, and offer'd all their Incenſe at our Altar, whilſt the Fate of either Prince ſeemed to depend upon the Oracles we delivered; for the King of *England* to ſit on his Throne, as in the Supream Court of Juſtice, to which the two great Monarchs appeal, pleading their Cauſe, and expecting their Sentence, declaring which ſide was in the right, or at leaſt if we pleas'd which ſide ſhould have the better of it, was a piece of Greatneſs which was peculiar to us, and no wonder if we endeavour to preſerve it, as we did for a conſiderable time, it being our Safety, as well as Glory, to maintain it; but by a Fatality upon our Councils, or by the refin'd Policy of this latter Age, we have thought fit to uſe induſtry to deſtroy this mighty Power, which we have ſo long enjoyed; and that equality between the Two Monarchs, which we might for ever have preſerved, has been chiefly broken by us, whoſe Intereſt it was above all others to maintain it; when one of them, like the overflowing of the Sea, had gained more upon the other than our convenience, or

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indeed our ſafety, would allow; inſtead of mending the Banks, or making new ones, we our ſelves with our own hands helpt to cut them, to invite and make way for a farther Inundation. *France* and *Spain* have had their ſeveral turns in making uſe of our Miſtakes, and we have been formerly as deaf to the Inſtances of the then weaker part of the World to help them againſt the Houſe of *Auſtria*, as we can now be to the Earneſtneſs of *Spain*, that we would aſſiſt them againſt the Power of *France*. *Gondamar* was as ſawcy, and as powerful too in King *James* his Court, as any French Ambaſſadour can have been at any time ſince, when Men talk as wrong then on the *Spaniſh* ſide, and made their Court by it, as well as any can have done ſince by talking as much for the *French*; ſo that from that time, inſtead of weighing in a wiſe Balance the power of either Crown, it looks as if we had learnt only to weigh the Penſions, and take the heavieſt.

It would be tedious, as well as unwelcome, to recapitulate all our wrong ſteps, ſo that I will go no farther than the King's Reſtauration, at which time the Balance was on the ſide of *France*, and that by the means of *Cromwell*, who for a ſeparate Intereſt of his own had ſacrificed that of the Nation, by joining with the ſtronger

ſide,

ſile, to ſuppreſs the Power of *Spain*, which he ought to have ſupported. Such a Method was natural enough to an Uſurper, and ſhew'd he was not the Lawful Father of the People, by his having ſo little care of them; and the Example coming from that hand, one would think ſhould, for that Reaſon, be leſs likely to be follow'd. But to go on, home comes the King, followed with Courtſhips from all Nations abroad, of which ſome did it not only to make them forget how familiarly they had us'd him when he was in other Circumſtances, but to beſpeak the Friendſhip of a Prince, who beſides his other Greatneſs, was yet more conſiderable by being re-eſtabliſhed by the love of his people. *France* had an Intereſt either to diſpoſe us to ſo much good will, or at leaſt to put us into ſuch a Condition, that we might give no Oppoſition to their Deſigns; and *Flanders* being a perpetual Object in their Eye, a luſting Beauty for which they have an incurable paſſion, and not being kind enough to conſent to them, they meditated to commit a Rape upon her, which they thought would not be eaſie to do, while *England* and *Holland* were agreed to reſcue her, when-ever they ſhould hear her cry out for help to them; to this end they

put in practice Seasonable and Artific
Whispers, to widen things between
and the States. *Amboyna* and the Fish
must be talk'd of here; the freedom
the Seas, and the preservation of T
must be insinuated there; and there be
combustible matter on both sides, in
little time it took Fire, which gave th
that kindled it, sufficient cause to smile
hug themselves, to see us both fall into t
Net they had laid for us. And it is cle
vable and of good example to us, if we
take it, That their Design being to se
together at Cuffs to weaken us, they
themselves Lookers on till our Victo
began to break the Balance; then the K
of *France*, like a wise Prince, was resol
to support the beaten side, and would
more let the Power of the Sea, than
ought to suffer the Monarchy of *Eu*
to fall into one hand: In pursuance to th
he took part with the *Dutch*, and in a lit
time made himself Umpire of the Pea
between us; some time after, upon preten
of his Queen's Title to part of *Flande*
by Right of Devolution, he falls into
with a mighty Force, for which the *Spa*
ard was so little prepared, that he ma
a very swift Progress, and had such a To
rent of undisputed Victory, that *Engl*
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and *Holland*, tho the Wounds they had given one another were yet green; being struck with the apprehension of so near a danger to them, thought it necessary, for their own defence, to make up a sudden League, into which *Sweden* was taken to interpose for a Peace between the two Crowns.

This had so good an effect, that *France* was stopt in its Career, and the Peace of *Aix la Chapelle* was a little after concluded. It was a force'd put; and tho *France* wisely dissembled their inward dissatisfaction, yet from the very moment they resolv'd to untie the Triple knot, whatever it cost them; for his Christian Majesty, after his Considering Meals, ever rises with a stomach, and he lik'd the Pattern so well, that it gave him a longing desire to have the whole piece. Amongst the other means used for the attaining this end, the sending over the Dutchess of *Orleans*, was not the least powerful; she was a very welcome Guest here, and her own Charms and Dexterity joined with other Advantages, that might help her perswasions, gave her such an Ascendant, that she should hardly fail of success. One of the Preliminaries of her Treaty, tho a trivial thing in it self, yet was considerable in the Consequence, as very small circumstances

cumſtances ſometimes are in relation to the Government of the World. About this time a general Humour, in oppoſition to *France*, had made us throw off their Faſhion, and put on Veſts, that we might look more like a diſtinct People, and not be under the ſervility of imitation, which ever pays a greater deference to the Original, than is conſiſtent with the Equality all Independent Nations ſhould pretend to; *France* did not like this ſmall beginning of ill Humours, at leaſt of Emulation, and wiſely conſidering that it is a natural Introduction firſt to make the World their Apes, that they may be afterwards their Slaves. It was thought that one of the Inſtructions Madam brought along with her, was to laugh us out of their Veſts, which ſhe performed ſo effectually, that in a moment, like ſo many Footmen who had quitted their Maſters Livery, we all took it again, and returned to our old Service; ſo that the very time of doing it gave a very critical Advantage to *France*, ſince it lookt like an Evidence of our returning to their Intereſt, as well as to their Faſhion, and would give ſuch a diſtruſt of us to our new Allies, that it might facilitate the diſſolution of the knot, which tied them to within their bounds, that they were very impatient till they were freed from the reſtraint.

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But the Lady had a more extended Commission than this and without doubt we double-laid the Foundation of a new strict Alliance, quite contrary to the other, in which we had been so lately engag'd. Add to this there were such early appearances, that the World began to look upon us as falling into Apostacy from the common Interest. Notwithstanding all this, *France* did not neglect at the same time to give good words to the *Dutch*, and even to feed them with hopes of supporting them against us, when on a sudden, that never to be forgiven Declaration of War against them comes out, only to vindicate his own Glory, and to revenge the Injuries done to his Brother in *England*, by which he became our Second in this Duel; so humble can this Prince be, when at the same time he does more Honour than we deserve, he lays a greater share of the blame upon our Shoulders, than did naturally belong to us; the particulars of that War, our part in it while we staid in it, and when we were out of breath, our leaving the *French* to make an end of it, are things too well known to make it necessary, and too unwelcome in themselves to incite me to repeat them; only the wisdom of *France* is in this to be observ'd, That when we had made a sepa-

rate Peace, which left them single to oppose the united Force of the Confederates, they were so far from being angry, that they would not shew so much as the least coldness, hoping to get as much by our Mediation for a Peace, as they would have expected from our Assistance in the War, our Circumstances at that time considered; This seasonable piece of Indulgence in not reproaching us, but rather allowing those Necessities of State which we gave for our Excuse, was such an engaging Method, that it went a great way to keep us still in their Chains, when, to the Eye of the World, we had absolutely broke loose from them: And what past afterwards at *Nimeguen*, tho the King's Neutrality gave him the outward Figure of a Mediator, it appear'd that his Interposition was extremely suspected of Partiality by the Confederates, who upon that Ground did both at and before the Conclusion of that Treaty, treat his Ministers there with a great deal of neglect in this Peace as well as that in the *Pyrenean* and *Aix le Chapelle*, the King of *France*, at the Moment of making it, had the thought of breaking it; for a very little time after he broach'd his Pretensions upon *Aleth*, which were things that if they had been offer'd by a less formidable hand, would have been smiled at; but ill

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Arguments being ſeconded by good Armies, carry ſuch a power with them, that naked Right is a very unequal Adverſary. It was thought that theſe glory Claims were chiefly mix'd with the proſpect of getting *Luxemburg* for the Equivalent; and this Opinion was confirm'd by the blocking it up afterwards, pretending to the Country of *Chimay*, that it might be entirely ſurrounded by the French Dominions, and it was ſo preſſed that it might have fallen in a little time, if the King of *France* had not ſent Orders to his Troops to retire, and his Chriſtian Generoſity which was aſſign'd for the reaſon of it, made the World ſmile, ſince it is ſeen how differently his devout Zeal works in *Hungary*: that ſpecious Reaſon was in many reſpects ill-tim'd, and *France* it ſelf gave it ſo faintly, that at the very time it look'd out of Countenance; the true ground of his Retiring is worth our obſervation; for at the inſtance of the Confederates, Offices were done, and Memorials given, but all ineffectual till the word *Parliament* was put into them; that powerful word had ſuch an effect, that even at that diſtance it rais'd the Seige, which may convince us of what efficacy the King of *England*'s words are, when he will give them their full weight, and threaten with his

Parliament; it is then that he appears that great Figure we ought to repreſent him in our Minds, the Nation his Body, he the Head, and joined with that Harmony, that every word he pronounces is the Word of a Kingdom: Such words, as appears by this Example, are as effectual as Fleets and Armies, becauſe they can create them, and without this his word ſounds abroad like a faint Whiſper, that is either not heard, or (which is worſe) not minded. But tho *France* had made this ſtep of forced Compliance, it did not mean to leave off the purſuit of their pretenſions; and therefore immediately propoſed the Arbitration to the King; but it appear'd, that notwithſtanding his *Merit* towards the Confederates, in ſaving *Luxenburg*, the remembrances of what had paſſed before, had left ſuch an ill taſte in their *Mouths*, that they could not Reliſh our being put into a Condition to diſpoſe of their Intereſts, and therefore declin'd it by inſiſting upon a general Treaty, to which *France* has ever ſince continued to be averſe: our great earneſtneſs alſo to perſwade the Confederates to conſent to it, was ſo unuſual, and ſo ſuſpicious a method, that it might naturally make them believe, that *France* ſpake to them by our *Mouth*, and for that Reaſon, if there has been

been no other, might hinder the accepting it; and so little care hath been taken to cure this, or other Jealousies the Confoederates may have entertain'd, that quite contrary, their *Ministers* here every day take fresh Alarms, from what they observe in small, as well as in greater Circumstances; and they being apt both to take and improve apprehensions of this kind, draw such Inferences from them, as make them entirely despair of us.

Thus we now stand, far from being Innocent Spectators of our Neighbours Ruine, and by a fatal mistake forgetting what a Certain Fore-runner it is to our own; and now it's time our *Trimmer* should tell something of his Opinion, upon this present State of things abroad. He first professes to have no Biass, either for or against *France*, and that his thoughts are wholly directed by the Interest of his own Country; he allows, and has read that *Spain* used the same Methods, when it was in its heighth, as *France* doth now, and therefore it is not Partiality that moves him; but the just fear which all reasonable Men must be possess'd with, of an over-growing Power; *Ambition* is a devouring Beast, when it hath swallow'd one Province, instead of being cloyed, it has so much the greater

Stomach

Stomach to another, and being fed, becomes ſtill the more hungry; ſo that for the Confederates to expect a ſecurity from any thing but their own united ſtrength, is a moſt miſerable fallacy; and if they cannot reſiſt the *Incroachments* of *France* by their Arms, it is in vain for them to dream of any other means of preſervation; it would have the better grace, beſides the ſaving ſo much Blood and Ruin, to give up all at once; make a Preſent of themſelves, to appeaſe this haughty Monarch, rather than be whiſper'd, flatter'd, or cozened out of their liberty. Nothing is ſo ſoft as the firſt applications of a greater Prince, to engage a weaker, but that ſmiling Countenance is but a Vizard, it is not the true Face; for as ſoon as their turn is ſerv'd, the Courtſhip flies to ſome other Prince or State, where the ſame part is to be acted over again, leaves the old miſtaken Friend, to Neglect and Contempt, and like an inſolent Lover to a Caſt off Miſtreſs, Reproaches her with that Infamy, of which he himſelf was the Author, *Sweden, Bavaria, Palatine, &c.* may by their Freſh Examples, teach other Princes what they are reaſonably to expect, and what Snakes are hid under the Flowers the Court of *France* ſo liberally throws upon them, whilſt they

can

can be uſeful. The various Methods and deep Intrigues, with the differing Notes in ſeveral Countries, do not only give ſuſpicion, but aſſurance that every thing is put in Practice, by which univerſal Monarchy may be obtain'd. Who can reconcile the withdrawing of his Troops from *Luxenburg*, in conſideration of the War in *Hungary*, which was not then declared, and preſently, after encouraging the *Turk* to take *Vienna*, and conſequently to deſtroy the Empire? Or who can think that the Perſecution of the Poor Proteſtants of *France*, will be accepted of God, as an Atonement for hazarding the loſs of the whole Chriſtian Faith? Can he be thought in earneſt, when he ſeem'd to be afraid of the *Spaniards*, and for that reaſon muſt have *Luxenburg*, and that he cannot be ſafe from *Germany*, unleſs he is in poſſeſſion of *Strasburg*? All Injuſtice and Violence muſt in it ſelf be grievous, but the aggravations of ſupporting 'em by falſe Arguments, and inſulting Reaſons, has ſomething in it yet more provoking than the Injuries themſelves; and the World has ground enough to apprehend, from ſuch a Method of arguing, that even their Senſes are to be ſubdu'd as well as their Liberties. Then the variety of Arguments uſed by *France* in ſeveral Countries

is very observable: In *England* and *Denmark*, nothing insisted on but the Greatness and Authority of the Crown; on the other side, the Great Men in *Poland* are commended, who differ in Opinion with the King, and they argue like Friends to the Privilege of Dyet, against the separate Power of the Crown: In *Sweden* they are troubled that the King should have chang'd something there of late, by his single Authority, from the antient and settled Authority and Constitutions: At *Ratisbone*, the most Christian Majesty taketh the Liberties of all the Electors, and free States into his Protection, and tells them the Emperour is a dangerous Man, an aspiring Hero, that would infallibly devour them, if he was not at hand to resist him on their behalf; but above all in *Holland*, he has the most obliging tenderness for the *Common-wealth*, and is in such disquiets, lest it should be invaded by the Prince of *Orange*, that they can do no less in gratitude, than undo themselves when he bids them, to show how sensible they are of his excessive good Nature; yet in spight of all these Contradictions, there are in the World such refin'd *States-men*, as will upon their Credit affirm the following Paradoxes to be real truth; first that *France* alone is sincere and

keeps

keeps its Faith, and conſequently that it is the only Friend we can rely upon; that the King of *France*, of all Men living, has the leaſt mind to be a Conqueror; that he is a ſleepy, tame Creature, void of all Ambition, a poor kind of a Man, that has no farther thoughts than to be quiet; that he is charm'd by his Friendſhip to us, that it is impoſſible he ſhould ever do us hurt, and therefore tho *Flanders* was loſt, it would not in the leaſt concern us; that he would fain help the Crown of *England* to be abſolute, which would be to take pains to put it into a condition to oppoſe him, as it is, and muſt be our Intereſt, as long as he continues in ſuch an overballancing Power and Greatneſs.

Such a Creed as this, if once receiv'd, might prepare our belief for greater things, and as he that taught Men to eat a Dagger, began firſt with a Pen knife; ſo if we can be prevail'd with to digeſt the ſmaller Miſtakes, we may at laſt make our ſtomachs ſtrong enough for that of Tranſubſtantiation. Our *Trimmer* cannot eaſily be converted out of his ſenſes by theſe State Sophiſters, and yet he has no ſuch peeviſh Obſtinacy as to reject all Correſpondence with *France*, becauſe we ought to be apprehenſive of the too great power of it; he would not have

have the kings Friendſhip to the Confederates extended to the involving him in any unreaſonable or dangerous Engagements, neither would he have him lay aſide the conſideration of his better eſtabliſhment at home, out of his exceſſive Zeal to ſecure his Allies abroad; but ſure there might be a Mean between theſe two oppoſite Extreams, and it may be wiſh'd that our Friendſhip with *France* ſhould at leaſt be ſo bounded, that it may conſiſt with the humour as well as the intereſt of *England*. There is no Woman but has the fears of contracting too near an intimacy with a much greater Beauty, becauſe it expoſes her too often to a Compariſon that is not advantageous to her; and ſure it may become a Prince to be as jealous of his Dignity, as a Lady can be of her good looks, and to be as much out of Countenance, to be thought an humble Companion to ſo much a greater Power; to be always ſeen in an ill Light, to be ſo darkned by the brightneſs of a greater Star, is ſomewhat mortifying; and when *England* might ride Admiral at the head of the Confederates, to look like the Kitching-Yatch to the Grand *Louis*, is but a ſcurvy Figure for us to make in the Map of *Chriſtendom*; it would riſe up in our *Trimmer's* ſtomach,

if

if ever (which God forbid) the power of calling and intermitting Parliaments here, should be transferred to the Crown of *France*, and that all the opportunities of our own settlements at home should give way to their Projects abroad; and that our interests should be so far sacrific'd to our Compliance, that all the Omnipotence of *France* can never make us full amends for it. In the mean time, he shrinks at the dismal prospect he can by no means drive away from his thoughts, that when *France* has gather'd all the fruit arising from our Mistakes, and that we can bear no more with them, they will cut down the Tree and throw it into the fire; for all this while, some Superfine States-Men, to comfort us, would fain perswade the World that this or that accident may save us, and for all that is or ought to be dear to us, would have us to rely wholly upon Chance, not considering that Fortune is Wisdoms Creature, and that God Almighty loves to be on the Wisest as well as the Strongest side; therefore this is such a miserable shift, such a shameful Evasion, that they would be laught to death for it, if the ruining Consequence of this Mistake did not more dispose Men to rage, and a detestation of it.

Our

Our *Trimmer* is far from Idolatry in other things, in one thing only he comes near it, his Country is in some degree his Idol; he does not Worship the Sun, because 'tis not peculiar to us, it rambles about the World, and is less kind to us than others; but for the Earth of *England*, tho perhaps inferior to that of many places abroad, to him there is Divinity in it, and he would rather dye, than see a piece of *English* Glass trampled down by a Foreign Trespasser: He thinks there are a great many of his mind, for all plants are apt to taste of the Soyl in which they grow, and we that grow here, have a Root that produces in us a Stalk of English Juice, which is not to be changed by grafting or foreign infusion; and I do not know whether any thing less will prevail, than the Modern Experiment, by which the Blood of one Creature is transmitted into another; according to which, before the *French* can be let into our Bodies, every drop of our own must be drawn out of them.

Our *Trimmer* cannot but lament, that by a Sacrifice too great for one Nation to another, we should be like a rich Mine, made useless only for want of being wrought, and that the Life and Vigour which should move us against our Enemies is miserably

other

pply'd to tear our own Bowels; that being made by our happy ſituation, not only ſafe, but if we pleaſe greater too, than other Countries which far exceed us in extent; that having Courage by Nature, Learning by Induſtry, and Riches by Trade, we ſhould corrupt all theſe Advantages, ſo as to make them inſignificant, and by a fatality which ſeems peculiar to us, miſplace our active rage one againſt another, whilſt we are turn'd into Statues on that ſide where lies our greateſt danger; to be unconcern'd not only at our Neighbours ruine but our own, and let our Iſland lie like a great Hulk in the Sea, without Rudder or Sail, all the Men caſt away in her, or as if we were all Children in a great Cradle, and rockt aſleep to a foreign Tune.

I ſay when our *Trimmer* repreſenteth to his Mind, our Roſes blaſted and diſcolour'd, whilſt the Lilies Triumph and grow inſolent, upon the Compariſon; when he conſiders our own once flouriſhing Lawrel, now withered and dying, and nothing left us but a remembrance of a better part in Hiſtory, than we ſhall make in the next Age; which will be no more to us than an Eſcutcheon hung upon our Door when we are dead; when he foreſees from hence, growing Infamy from abroad, confuſion

at home, and all this without the possibility of a Cure, in respect of the voluntary fetters good Men put upon themselves by their Allegiance without a good measure of preventing Grace, he would be tempted to go out of the World like a *Roman* Philosopher, rather than endure the burthen of Life under such a discouraging Profession. But Mistakes, as all other things, have their Periods, and many times the nearest way to Cure, is not to oppose them, but stay till they are crusht with their own weight: for Nature will not allow any thing to continue long that is violent; violence is a wound, and as a wound, must be curable in a little time, or else 'tis Mortal; but a Nation comes near to be Immortal, therefore the wound will one time or another be cured, tho perhaps by such rough Methods, if too long forborn, as may even make the best Remedies we can prepare to be at the same time a Melancholy Consolation to us; there is but one thing (God Almighties Providence excepted) to support a Man from sinking under these afflicting thoughts, and that is the hope we draw singly from the King himself without the mixture of any other consideration.

The

Tho the Nation was lavish of their Kind-
ness to him at his first coming, yet there
remains still a stock of Warmth in Mens
hearts for him.

Besides the good Influences of his happy
Stars are not yet all spent, and tho the
Eyes of Men past their youth are generally
declining, and have less Force like the Eyes
of decaying Beauties, yet by a Blessing pe-
culiar to himself, we may yet hope to be
aided by his Autumnal Fortune; He has
something about him that will draw down
a healing Miracle for his and our Deliver-
ance; a Prince which seems fitted for such
an offending Age, in which Mens Crimes
have been so general, that the not forgiving
of People has been the destroying of them.
Those Gentleness gives him a natural Do-
minion that hath no bounds, with such
a noble mixture of Greatness and Conde-
scention, an engaging Look, that disarms
Men of their ill Humours, and their Re-
sentments; something in him that wanteth
a Name, and can be no more defined than
it can be resisted; a Gift of Heaven, of its
last finishing, where it will be peculiarly
kind; the only Prince in the World that
dares be familiar, or that has right to tri-
umph over those forms which were first in-
vented to give awe to those who could not

judge, and to hide Defects from those that could; a Prince that has exhausted himself by his Liberality, and endanger'd himself by his Mercy; who out-shines by his own Light and natural Virtues all the varnish of studied Acquisitions; his Faults are like Shades to a good Picture, or like Allay to Gold, to make it the more useful, he may have some; but for any Man to see them through so many reconciling Virtues, is a Sacrilegious piece of ill nature, of which no generous Mind can be guilty; a Prince that deserves to be lov'd for his own sake, even without the help of a Comparison; our Love, our Duty, and our Danger, all join to cement our Obedience to him; in short, whatever he can do, it is no more possible for us to be angry with him, than with a Bank that secures us from the raging Sea, the kind Shade that hides us from the scorching Sun, the welcome Hand that relieves us a Reprieve, or with the Guardian Angel, that rescues our Souls from the devouring Jaws of wretched Eternity.

CON-

CONCLUSION.

TO Conclude, our *Trimmer* is so fully satisfy'd of the Truth of these Principles, by which he is directed, in reference to the Publick, that he will neither be Hector'd and Threatned, Laught, nor Drunk out of them; and instead of being converted by the Arguments of his Adversaries to their Opinions, he is very much confirmed in his own by them; he professes solemnly that were it in his Power to chuse, he would rather have his Ambition bounded by the Commands of a Great and Wise Master, than let it range with a Popular Licence, tho' crown'd with success; yet he cannot commit such a Sin against the glorious thing call'd Liberty, nor let his Soul stoop so much below it self, as to be content without repining to have his Reason wholly subdu'd, or the Privilege of Acting like a sensible Creature, torn from him by the impetuous Dictates of unlimited Authority, in what hand soever it happens to be plac'd. What is there in this that is so Criminal, as to deserve the Penalty of that most singular Apophthegm, *A* Trimmer *is worse than a Rebel?* What do angry men ail to rail so against

Moderation, do's it not look as if they were going to ſome very ſcurvy Extreme, that is too ſtrong to be digeſted by the more conſidering part of Mankind? Theſe Arbitrary Methods, beſides the injuſtice of them, are (God be thanked) very unskilful too, for they fright the Birds, by talking ſo loud, from coming into the Nets that are laid for them; and when Men agree to riſe in a Houſe, they ſeldom give warning, or blow a Trumpet; but there are ſome ſmall State-Men, who are ſo full charg'd with their own Expectations, that they cannot contain.

And kind Heaven by ſending ſuch a ſeaſonable Curſe upon their undertakings, has made their ignorance an Antidote against their Malice; ſome of theſe cannot live peaceably, yielding will not ſatisfy them, they will have men by ſtorm; there are others, that muſt have Plots, to make their Service more neceſſary, and have an intereſt to keep them alive, ſince they are to live upon them; and perſwade the King to retrench his own Greatneſs, ſo as to ſhrink into the head of a Party, which is the betraying him into ſuch an Unprincely miſtake, and to ſuch a wilful diminution of himſelf, that they are the laſt Enemies he ought to allow himſelf to forgive; ſuch

Men

Men, if they could, would prevail with the Sun to ſhine only upon them and their friends, and to leave all the reſt of the World in the dark; this is a very unuſual Monopoly, and may come within the Equity of the Law, which makes it Treaſon to imprison the King, when ſuch unfitting bounds are put to his Favour, and he confin'd to the narrow limits of a particular ſet of Men, that would incloſe him; theſe honeſt and only Loyal Gentlemen, if they may be allow'd to bear Witneſs for themſelves, make a King their Engine, and devide him into a property at the very time that their Flattery would make him believe they paid Divine Worſhip to him; beſides theſe there is a flying Squadron on both ſides, that are afraid the World ſhould agree, ſmall dabblers in Conjuring, that raiſe angry Apparitions to keep Men from being reconcil'd, like Waſps that fly up and down, buz and ſting to keep Men unquiet; but theſe Inſects are commonly ſhort-liv'd Creatures, and no doubt in a little time Mankind will be rid of them; they were Gyants at leaſt who fought once againſt Heaven, but for ſuch Pigmies as theſe to contend againſt it, is ſuch a provoking Folly, that the inſolent Bunglers ought to be laught and hiſt out of the World for it; they

should consider there is a Soul in that great body of the People, which may for a time be drowzy and unactive, but when the Leviathan is rouz'd, it moves like an angry Creature, and will neither be convinc'd nor resisted: the People can never agree to shew their united Powers, till they are extremely tempted and provoked to it, so that to apply Cupping-Glasses to a great Beast naturally dispos'd to sleep, and to force the Tame thing whether it will or no to be Valiant, must be learnt out of some other Book than *Machiavil*, who would never have prescrib'd such a preposterous Method. It is to be remembred, that if Princes have Law and Authority on their sides, the People on theirs may have Nature, which is a formidable Adversary; Duty, Justice, Religion, nay, even Humane Prudence too, bids the People suffer any thing rather than resist; but uncorrected Nature, where e're it feels the smart will run to the neareſt Remedy. Mens Passions in this Case are to be consider'd as well as their Duty, let it be never so strongly enforc'd, for if their Passions are provok'd, they being as much a part of us as our Limbs, they lead Men into a short way of Arguing, that admits no distinction, and from the foundation of Self-Defence, they will draw Inferences, that

will

will have miserable effects upon the quiet of a Government.

Our *Trimmer* therefore dreads a general discontent, because he thinks it differs, from a Rebellion, only as a Spotted Fever does from the Plague, the same Species under a lower degree of Malignity; it works several ways; sometimes like a slow Poyson that has its Effects at a great distance from the time it was given, sometimes like dry Flax prepared to catch at the first Fire, or like Seed in the ground ready to sprout up at the first Shower; in every shape 'tis fatal, and our *Trimmer* thinks no pains or precaution can be so great as to prevent it.

In short he thinks himself in the right, grounding his Opinion upon that Truth, which equally hates to be under the Oppressions of wrangling Sophistry of the one hand, or the short dictates of mistaken Authority on the other.

Our *Trimmer* adores the Goddess Truth, tho' in all Ages she has been scurvily used, as well as those that Worshipped her; 'tis of late become such a ruining Virtue, that Mankind seems to be agreed to commend and avoid it; yet the want of Practice which Repeals the other Laws, has no influence upon the Law of Truth, because it has root in Heaven, and an Intrinsick value

in

in it ſelf, that can never be impaired; ſhe ſhews her Greatneſs in this, that her Enemies even when they are ſucceſsful are aſham'd to own it; nothing but Power full of Truth has the prerogative of Triumphing, not only after Victories, but in ſpite of them, and to put Conqueſt her ſelf out of Countenance; ſhe may be kept under and ſuppreſt, but her Dignity ſtill remains with her, even when ſhe is in Chains; Falſhood with all her Impudence, has not enough to ſpeak ill of her before her Face, ſuch Majeſty ſhe carries about her, that her moſt proſperous Enemies are fain to whiſper their Treaſon; all the Power upon Earth can never extinguiſh her; ſhe has liv'd in all Ages; and let the Miſtaken Zeal of prevailing Authority, Chriſten any oppoſition to it, with what Name they pleaſe, ſhe makes it not only an ugly and unmannerly, but a dangerous thing to perſiſt; ſhe has lived very retired indeed, nay ſometime ſo buried, that only ſome few of the diſcerning part of Mankind could have a Glimpſe of her; with all that ſhe has Eternity in her, ſhe knows not how to die, and from the darkeſt Clouds that ſhade and cover her, ſhe breaks from time to time with Triumph for her Friends, and Terrour to her Enemies.

Our

Our *Trimmer* therefore inſpired by this Divine Virtue, thinks fit to conclude with theſe Aſſertions, That our Climate is a *Trimmer*, between that part of the World where men are Roaſted, and the other where they are Frozen; That our Church is a *Trimmer* between the Phrenzy of Platonick Viſions, and the Lethargick Ignorance of Popiſh Dreams; That our Laws are *Trimmers*, between the Exceſs of unbounded Power, and the Extravagance of Liberty not enough reſtrained; That true Virtue has ever been thought a *Trimmer*, and to have its dwelling in the middle between the two Extreams; That even God Almighty himſelf is divided between his two great Attributes, his Mercy and his Juſtice.

In ſuch Company, our *Trimmer* is not aſham'd of his Name, and willingly leaves to the bold Champions of either Extream, the Honour of contending with no leſs Adverſaries, than Nature, Religion, Liberty, Prudence, Humanity and Common Senſe.

THE

THE ANATOMY OF AN EQUIVALENT.

THE World hath of late years never been without some extraordinary *Word* to furnish the Coffee-houses and fill the Pamphlets. Sometimes it is a *new* one invented, and sometimes an *old* one revived. They are usually fitted to some present purpose, with intentions as differing as the various designs several parties may have, either to delude the People, or to expose their Adversaries: They are not of long continuance, but after they have passed a little while, and that they are grown nauseous by being so often repeated, they give place to something that is newer. Thus after *Whig*, *Tory*, and *Trimmer* have had their time, now they are dead and forgotten, being supplanted by the word Equivalent, which reigneth in their stead.

The

The Birth of it, is in short this: After many repeated Essayes to dispose Men to the Repeal of Oaths and Tests, made for the security of the Protestant Religion, the general aversion to comply in it was found to be so great, that it was thought advisable to try another manner of attempting it, and to see whether by putting the *same thing* into *another Mould*, and softning an *harsh Proposition* by a *plausible Term*, they might not have better success.

To this end, instead of an *absolute* giving of these Laws, without any Consideration, which was the *first* Proposal; now it is put into gentler Language, and runs thus: *If you will take away the* Oaths and Tests, *you shall have as good a thing for them.* This put into the fashionable Word, is now called an Equivalent.

II. So much to the Word it self. I will now endeavour in short to examine and explain, in order to the having it fully understood,

First, What *is* the nature of a true *Equivalent*; and

In the next place, What things *are not* to be admitted under that denomination.

I shall treat these as general Propositions, and though I cannot undertake how far they may be *convincing*, I may safely do it that

that they are *impartial*; of which there can be no greater evidence than that I make neither Inference nor Application, but leave that part entirely to the Reader, according as his own Thoughts shall direct and dispose him.

III. I will first take notice, that this Word, by the application which hath been made of it in some modern instances lieth under some *Disadvantage*, not to say some *Scandal*. It is transmitted hither from *France*; and if as in most other things that we take from them, we carry them beyond the Pattern, it should prove so in this, we should get into a more *partial* stile than the principles of English Justice will hope ever allow us to be guilty of.

The French King's *Equivalents* in *Flanders* are very *extraordinary Bargains*; his manner of proposing and obtaining them is very differing from the usual methods of *equal* dealing. In a later instance, *Denmark*, by the encouragement as well as by the example of *France*, hath propos'd things to the Duke of *Holstein*, which are called *Equivalents*, but that they are so, the World is not yet sufficiently convinc'd, and probably the Parties concern'd do not think them to be so, and consequently do not appear to be at all disposed to accept them.

Princes

Princes enjoyn and preſcribe ſuch things when they have *Strength* and *Power* to ſupply the want of *Arguments*; and according to practice in theſe Caſes, the weaker are never thought to have an *ill Bargain*, if they have *any thing* left them. So that the firſt Qualification of an *Equivalent*, muſt be, that the Appraiſers be *indifferent*, elſe it is only a *Sound*, there can be nothing *real* in it: For where the ſame party that *propoſeth* a Bargain, claimeth a Right to fix the *Value*; or which is worſe, hath *power* too to make it good, the other may be forced to *ſubmit* to the Conditions, but he can by no means ever be perſwaded to *treat* upon them.

IV. The next thing to be conſider'd is, that to make an *Equivalent* in reality an equal thing to the Propoſer, it muſt be a *better* thing than that which is required by him; *juſt as good* is ſubject to the hazard of not being *quite ſo good*: It is not eaſie to have ſuch an even hand as to make the Value exactly equal; beſides, according to the Maxim in Law, *Melior conditio poſſidentis*, the Offer is not fair, except the thing offered is better in value than the thing demanded. There muſt be allowance for removing what is fixed, and there muſt be ſomething that may be a juſtification for

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changing. The value of things very often dependeth more upon other circumstances, than upon what is meerly intrinsick to them; therefore the calculation must be made upon that foot, perhaps in most cases; and particularly the *want* which one of the parties may have of the thing he requireth, maketh it more valuable to *him* than it is in *it self*. If the party *proposing* doth not want the thing he would have in Exchange, his requiring it is *Impertinent*: If he doth, his want of it must go *into* the appraisement, and by consequence every Proposer of an *Equivalent* must offer a *better* thing, or else he must not take it unkindly to be refused, except the other party hath an *equal want* of the *same* thing, which is very improbable, since naturally he that wanteth most will speak first.

V. Another thing necessary to the making a fair Bargain is, that let the parties who treat, be they never so unequal in themselves, yet as to the particular thing proposed, there must be an *exact equality*, as far as it relateth to the full Liberty of *taking* or *refusing*, *concurring* or *objecting*, without any consequence of Revenge, or so much as Dissatisfaction; for it is Impossible to *treat* when it is an Affront to *differ*; in that case there is no mean between the two extreams,

either an open Quarrel or an intire Submission; the way of *Bargaining* must be equal, else the Bargain *it self* cannot be so: For example, the *Proposer* is not only to use equal terms as to the *matter*, but *fair* ones in the *manner* too. There must be no intimation of *Anger* in case of *refusal*, much less any open *Threatning*. Such a Stile is so ill suited to the usual way of Treating, that it looketh more like a Breach of the Peace than the making a Bargain. It would be yet more improper and less agreeing with the nature of an *Equivalent*, if whilst the Men are chaffering about the *Price*, one of them should actually *take* the thing in question at his *own rate*, and afterwards desire to have his possession *confirmed* by a formal Agreement; such a proceeding would not only *destroy* that *particular* contract, but make it impossible to have any *other*, with the party that could be guilty of such a practice.

VI. *Violence* preceding destroyeth all Contract, and even tho the party that offereth it should have a right to the thing he so seeketh, yet it is to be obtained by *legal* means, else it may be *forfeited* by his *irregularity* in the pursuit of it. The *Law* is such an Enemy to *Violence*, and so little to be reconciled to it, that in the Case of a *Rape*, the Punish-

ishment is not taken off though the party injured afterwards *consenteth*. The Justice of the Law hath its eye upon the first act, and the Maxim of *Volenti non fit injuria* doth not in this case help the Offender, it being a plea *subsequent* to the Crime, which maketh it to be rejected as a thing wrong done and out of time.

So in taking away Goods or Money it is the same thing. The party robbed, by giving them afterwards to the thief, does not exempt him from the Punishment of the Law: Quite contrary, the Man from whom they were taken is punishable, if he doth not *prosecute*. If the case should be, that a Man thus taking away a thing with force, claimeth a *right* to take it, then whether it is well or ill founded is not the Question; but sure, the party from whom it is so taken, whilst he is treating to *Sell* or *Exchange* it, can never make a Bargain with so *arbitrary* a Chapman, there being no room left there so much as to talk of the Value.

VII. To make an equal Bargain there must be a liberty of *differing*, not only in every thing that is *really essential*, but in every thing that is *thought so* by *either* party, and most especially by him who is in *possession* of the thing demanded. His *Opinion* must

be a *Rule* to him, and even his *Mistake* in the Value, though it may not convince the Man he hath to deal with; yet he will be justified for *not accepting* what is offered, till that *Mistake* is fairly rectified and over-ruled.

When a *Security* is desired to be *changed*, that side which *desireth* it must not pretend to *impose* upon the other, so as to dictate to them, and tell them without debate, that they are *safe* in what is proposed, for of that the Counsel on the *other side* must certainly be the most *competent Judge*. The *hand* it cometh *from* is a great Circumstance, either to invite or discourage in matters of Contract; the Qualification of the *Party offering* must sute with the *Profession* it self, else let it be never so fair, there is ground for *Suspicion*.

VIII. When Men are of a temper, that they think they have *wrong* done them, if they have not always the *better* side of a *Bargain*: If they happen to be such as by experience have been found to have an *ill Memory* for their *Word*. If the Character they bear, doth not recommend their *Justice*, where-ever their *Interest* is concerned. In these cases, thinking Men will avoid dealing, not only to prevent *surprize*, but to put off the occasions of *difficulty* or *dispute*.

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mal is yet *more discouraging*, when there are, either a *precedent* Practice, or *standing Maxims* of *grosse Partiality*, in assuming a privilege of *exemption* from the usual methods of *equal* dealing.

To illustrate this by an Instance. Suppose that in any case, the Church of *Rome* should have an *Interest* to promote a Bargain; let her *way of dealing* be a little examined, which will direct those with whom she treateth, how far they are to rely upon what *she proposeth* to them. We may begin with the Quality in the World, the least consisting with equal dealing. An incurable *Partiality* to *herself*; which, that it may arrive to its full perfection, is crowned with *Infallibility*. At the first setting out, she maketh her self incapable of dealing upon terms of *Equality*, by the Power she claimeth of *binding* and *loosing*, which hath been so often applyed to *Treaties*, as well as to *Sins*. If the definition of *Justice* is to deal *equally*, she cannot be guilty of it without *betraying her Prerogative*, and according to her Principles, she giveth up the Superiority derived to her by *Apostolical Succession*, if she degradeth her self so as to be judged by the Rules of *common Right*, especially if the Bargain should be with *Hereticks*, who

in her Opinion have *forfeited* the claim they might otherwise have had to it.

IX. Besides, her Taste hath been so spoiled by *unreasonable Bargains*, that she can never bring down her Palate to any thing that is *fair* or *equal*. She hath not only judg'd it an *Equivalent*, but a *great Bargain* for the other side, to give them *Absolutions* and *Indulgence* for the *real Payment* of great Sums, for which she hath drawn Bills to have them repayed with Interest in *Purgatory*.

This *Spiritual Bank* hath carried on such a Trade upon these *advantageous Terms* that it can never submit to the small Profits an *ordinary Bargain* would produce.

The several Popes have in exchange for the *Peter-Pence*, and all their other *Rents* and *Fines* out of *England*, sent *sanctified Roses*, *Reliques*, and other such Wonder-working Trifles. And by virtue of their Character of *Holy Fathers*, have used Princes like *Children*, by sending them such *Rattles* to play with, which they made them buy at extravagant Rates; besides which, they were to be *thankful* too, in to the bargain.

A Chip of the Cross, a piece of St. *Laurence's* Grid-iron, a Hair of St. *Peter*, have been thought *Equivalents*, for much more

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substantial things. The Popes being Masters of the Jewel-House, have set the *Rates* upon them, and they have passed; though the whole Shop would not take up the value of a Bodkin in *Lombard-street* upon the credit of them.

They are *unconscionable Purchasers*, for they get all the Money from the *living* by paying for them when they are *dead*. And it is observable, that the Northern part of Christendom, which best understandeth *Trade*, were the first that *refused* to make any more Bargains with them; so that it looketh as if the chief quarrel to the *Heretiks* was not as they were *ill Christians*, but as they were *unkind Merchants*, in so discourteously rejecting the Commodities of the growth of *Rome*.

To conclude this Head, There is no bartering with *Infallibility*, it being so much *above Equality*, that it cannot bear the indignity of a *true Equivalent*.

X. In all Bargains there is a necessity of looking back, and reflecting how far a *present proposal* is reconcilable with a *former practice*; For Example, if at any time a thing is offered, quite *differing* from the *Arguments* used by the Proposer, and *inconsistent* with the *Maxims* held out by him at *other* times. Or in a Publick

caſe, if the *ſame* men who promote and preſs a thing with the *utmoſt violence*, do in a little time after with *as much violence* preſs the *contrary*, and profeſs a *deteſtation* of the *very thing*, for which they had before imployed *all* their *Intereſt* and *Authority*. Or if in the caſe of a Law *already* made, there ſhould be a privilege claimed to *exempt* thoſe from the obligation of obſerving it, who yet ſhould *afterwards deſire* and *preſs* to have a *new Law* made in exchange for the *old* one, by which they would not be bound; and that they ſhould propoſe a *ſecurity* by a thing of the very *ſame nature* as that which they did *not* allow to be any *before*. Theſe *Incongruences* muſt naturally have the effect of raiſing *ſuſpicion*, or rather they are a *certain proof*, that in ſuch circumſtances it is *irrational* for men to expect an *effectual Equivalent*.

XI. If whatſoever is more than *ordinary* is *ſuſpicious*, every thing that is *unnatural* is *more* ſo: It is not only *unneceſſary* but *unnatural* too to *perſwade* with *violence* what it is *folly* to *refuſe*: to *puſh* men with eagerneſs into a *good* bargain for *themſelves*, is a ſtile very much unſuitable to the *nature* of the thing. But it goeth further and is yet more abſurd, to grow *angry* with

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men for *not* receiving a proposal that is for their *advantage*; Men ought to be content with the Generosity of *offering* good bargains, and should give their *compassion* to those who do *not understand* them: but by carrying their good nature so far as to be *Cholerick* in such a case, they would follow the example of the *Church of Rome*, where the definition of *Charity* is very extraordinary. In her Language, the Writ *de Hæretico Comburendo* is a *Love letter*, and *burning* men for differing with them in Opinion, howsoever miscalled *Cruelty*, is as they understand it, the *perfection* of *flaming Charity*.

When *Anger* in these cases lasteth *long*, it is most probable that it is for our *own sakes*; Good nature for *others* is one of those Diseases that is *cured* by *time*, and especially where it is *offered* and *rejected*; but for *our selves* it *never faileth*, and cannot be extinguished but with our life. It is fair if men can believe that their friends love them *next* to themselves, to love them *better* is too much; the Expression is so *unnatural* that it is *cloying*, and men must have no *sense*, who in this case have no *suspicion*.

XII Another Circumstance necessary to a *fair* bargain is, That there must be *open-*

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ness and *freedom* allowed, as the effect of that *Equality* which is the foundation of Contracting. There must be full liberty of *objecting*, and making *doubts* and *scruples*. If they are such as can be *answered*, the party convinced is so much the more *confirmed* and *incouraged* to deal, instead of being hindred by them; but if instead of an *answer* to satisfy, there is nothing but *anger* for a reply, it is impossible not to conclude that there is never a good one to give; so that the objection *remaining* without being fully *confuted*, there is an absolute *bar* put to any further Treaty.

There can be no dealing where one side assumeth a privilege to *impose*, so as to make an *offer* and not bear the *examination* of it, this is giving *judgment* not making a *bargain*. Where it is called *unmannerly* to *object*, or *criminal* to *refuse*, the surest way is for men to stay where they are, rather than treat upon such disadvantage.

If it should happen to be in any Country where the governing power should allow men *Liberty of Conscience* in the choice of their *Religion*, it would be strange to deny them *liberty of speech* in making a *bargain*. Such a contradiction would be so discouraging, that they must be *unreasonably sanguine*, who in that case can entertain the hopes of a *fair Equivalent*.

XIII. An

XIII. An *equal* Bargain must not be a *Myſtery* nor a *Secret*. The purchaſer or propoſer is to tell *directly* and *plainly*, what it is he intendeth to give in Exchange for that which he requireth. It muſt be *viewed* and *conſidered* by the *other* party, that he may judge of the value; for without *knowing* what it is, he cannot determine whether he ſhall *take* or *leave* it. An aſſertion in *general*, that it ſhall be *as good* or a *better* thing, is not in this a *ſufficient* excuſe for the miſtake of dealing upon ſuch *uncertain* terms. In all things that are dark and not enough explained, *ſuſpicion* naturally followeth: A *ſecret* generally implieth a *defect* or a *deceit*; and if a *falſe light* is an objection, *no light* at all is yet a greater. To pretend to give a *better* thing, and to refuſe to *ſhew* it, is very near ſaying it is *not ſo good* a one; at leaſt ſo it will be taken in common conſtruction. A *Myſtery* is yet a more diſcouraging thing to a *Proteſtant*; eſpecially if the Propoſition ſhould come from a *Papiſt*; it being one of his great Objections to that Church, that there are ſo many of them *Inviſible* and *Impoſſible*, which are ſo violently thruſt upon their underſtandings, that they are overlaid with them. They think that *rational creatures* are to be convinced only by

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reason, and that *reason* must be *visible* and *freely exposed*; else they will think themselves used with *contempt* instead of *equality*, and will never allow such a *suspected secrecy* to be a fit preface to a *real Equivalent*.

XIV. In matters of Contract not only the *present* value, but the *contingencies* and *consequences*, as far as they can be fairly supposed, are to be considered. For Example, if there should be a *possibility*, that one of the Parties may be *ruined* by *accepting*, and the other only *disappointed* by his *refusing*; the consequences are so extreamly *unequal*, that it is not imaginable, a man should take that for an *Equivalent*, which hath such a *fatal possibility* at the heels of it.

If it should happen in a *publick* case, that such a proposal should come from the *minor* part of an Assembly or Nation, to the *greater*; It is very just, that the *hazard* of such a *possibility* should more or less likely fall upon the *lesser* part, rather than upon the *greater*; for *whose sake* and *advantage* things are and must be calculated in all *publick Constitutions*. Suppose in any mixed Government, the *chief Magistrate* should propose upon a condition, in the *Senate*, *Diet*, or other *Supreme Assembly*, either to Enact or Abrogate one or more Laws, by which a *possibility* might be let in of *destroy-*

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ing their *Religion* and *Property*, which in other language signifieth no less than *Soul* and *Body*; where could be the *Equivalent* in the case, not only for the *real loss*, but even for the *fear of losing* them? Men can fall no lower than to *lose* all, and if *losing all* destroyeth them, the *venturing all* must *fright* them.

In an instance when Men are secure, that how far soever they may be over-run by *Violence*, yet they can never be undone by *Law*, except they give their assistance to make it possible, though it should neither be likely nor intended, still the *consequence* which *may* happen is too big for any present thing to make amends for it. Whilst the word *Possible* remindeth, it must *forbid* the bargain. Wherever it falleth out therefore, that in an Example of a publick nature, the Changing, Enacting, or Repealing a Law, *may naturally* tend to the *misplacing* the Legislative power in the hands of those who have a *separate interest* from the body of the People, there can be no treating, till it is demonstrably made out, that *such* a consequence shall be *absolutely impossible*: for if that shall be *denied* by those who make the proposal, if it is because they *cannot* do it, the motion at first was very *unfair*.

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If they *can* and *will not*, it would be yet less reasonable to expect that such *partial* dealers would ever give an *Equivalent* fit to be *accepted*.

XV. It is necessary in all dealing to be *assured* in the first place, that the *party proposing* is in a condition to *make good* his Offer; that he is neither under any *secret Obligations* or *pretended Claims*, which may render him incapable of performing it; else he is so far in the condition of a *Minor*, that whatever he disposeth by sale or exchange, may be afterwards resumed and the Contract becomes void, being *originally defective*, for want of a *sufficient legal power* in him that made it.

In the case of a strict Settlement, where the party is only *Tenant for life*, there is no possibility of treating with one under such fetters; no purchase or exchange of Lands or any thing else can be good, where there is such an *incapacity* of making out a Title, the interest vested in him being so *limited*, that he can do little more than pronounce the *words* of a Contract, he can by no means perform the *effect* of it.

In more *publick* instances, the *impossibility* is yet more express; as suppose in any Kingdom, where the *people* have so much liberty left them, as that they may make

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Contracts with the *Crown*, there should be some *peculiar rights* claimed to be so *fixed* to the Royal Function, that no King for the time being could have power to *part* with them, being so *fundamentally* tied to the Office, that they can *never* be *separated*. Such *Rights* can upon no occasion be received in *exchange* for any thing the Crown may desire from the People: That can never be *taken* in payment, which cannot lawfully be *given*, so that if they should part with that which is required upon those terms, it must be a *gift*, it cannot be a *bargain*.

There is not in the whole *Dictionary* a more untractable word than *Inherent*, and less to be reconciled to the word *Equivalent*.

The party that will Contract in spight of such a Claim, is content to *take* what is *impossible* to *grant*, and if he complaineth of his Disappointment, he neither *can have* Remedy, nor *deserveth* it.

If a Right so claimed happeneth to be of so *comprehensive* a *nature*, as that by a clear inference it may extend to *every thing else*, as well as to the *particular* matter in question, as often as the Supream Magistrate shall be so disposed, there can in that case be *no treating* with a Prerogative that swalloweth all the Right the People can pretend to;

and

and if they have no right to any thing of which they are poſſeſſed, it is a *Feſt* and not a *Bargain*, to obſerve any Formality in parting with it.

A Claim may be ſo ſtated, that by the *power* and *advantage* of *interpreting*, it ſhall have ſuch a murthering eye, that if it looketh upon a Law, like a *Baſilisk*, it ſhall ſtrike it dead: Where is the poſſibility of Treating, where *ſuch a Right is aſſumed*? Nay, let it be ſuppoſed, that ſuch a Claim is *not well founded* in *Law*, and that upon a free diſquiſition it could *not be made out*; yet even in this caſe, none that are well adviſed will conclude a Bargain, till it is *fully ſtated* and *cleared*, or indeed, ſo much as *engage* in a *treaty*, till by way of preliminary all *poſſibility* ſhall be *removed* of any trouble or diſpute.

XVI. There is a *collateral* circumſtance in making a Contract, which yet deſerveth to be conſidered, as much as any thing that belongeth to it, and that is the *character* and *figure* of the *parties* contracting, if they treat only by *themſelves*, and if by *others*, the *Qualifications* of the *Inſtruments* they employ. The *Propoſer* eſpecially, muſt not be ſo *low* as to want *credit*, nor ſo *raiſed* as to carry him *above* the reach of *ordinary* dealing.

ing. In the first, There is *scandal*, in the other *danger*. There is no Rule without some Exception, but generally speaking the *means* should be suited to the *end*, and since all Men who treat, pretend an *equal bargain*, it is desirable that there may be *equality* in the *persons* as well as in the *thing*.

The *manner* of doing things hath such an influence upon the *matter*, that Men may guess at the *end* by the *instruments* that are used to obtain it, who are a very *good direction* how far to rely upon or suspect the *sincerity* of that which is proposed. An Absurdity in the way of *carrying on* a Treaty, in any *one* Circumstance, if it is very gross, is enough to perswade a thinking Man to break off, and take warning from such an *ill appearance*. Some things are so glaring that it is impossible not to *see*, and consequently not to *suspect* them; as suppose in a private case, there should be a Treaty of *Marriage* between two Honourable Families, and the proposing side should think fit to send a *Woman* that had been *Carted*, to perswade the *young Lady* to an approbation and consent; the *unfitness* of the *Messenger* must naturally dispose the other party to *distrust* the *Message*, and to resist the temptation of the *best Match* that could be offered, when con-

veyed by *that hand*, and ushered in by such a *discouraging preliminary*.

In a *publick* instance the suspicion arising from *unfit Mediators*, still groweth more reasonable in proportion, as the *consequent* is much *greater* of being deceived. If a *Jew* should be employed to sollicite all sorts of *Christians* to *unite* and *agree*; the *contrariety* of his *profession*, would not allow Men to stay till they heard his Arguments, they would conclude from his *Religion*, that either the Man *himself* was *mad*, or that he thought *those* to be *so*, whom he had the impudence to endeavour to perswade.

Or suppose an *Adamite* should be very sollicitous and active, in all places, and with all sorts of Persons, to settle the *Church of England* in particular, and a fair *Liberty of Conscience* for all Dissenters; though nothing in the World has more to be said for it than *Naked Truth*, yet if such a Man should run up and down without Cloaths, let his Arguments be never so good, or his Commission never so Authentick, his *Figure* would be such a *contradiction* to his *business*, that how serious soever that might be in itself, *his interposition* would make a Jest of it.

Though it should not go so far as this, yet if Men have *contrarieties* in their *way of living*

living not to be reconciled; as if they should pretend infinite *zeal for liberty*, and at that time be in great *favour* and *employ* by those who will *not endure* it.

If they are affectedly *singular*, and conform to the generality of the World in *no* one thing; but in playing the *knave*.

If *demonstration* is a familiar word with them, most especially where the thing is *impossible*.

If they quote *Authority* to supply their want of *sense*, and justifie the value of their Arguments, not by *reason*, but by their being *paid* for them, (in which, by the way, those who pay them have probably a very *melancholy Equivalent*:) If they brandish a *Prince's Word* like a Sword in a Crowd, to make way for their own *impertinence*; and in dispute, as Criminals formerly fled to the *Statue* of the Prince for Sanctuary; if they should now, when baffled, creep under the protection of a Kings *Name*, where out of respect they are no farther to be pursued.

In these cases, Though the propositions should be *really* good, they will be corrupted by passing through such *Conduits*, and it would be a sufficient *Mistake* to enter into a *Treaty*; but it would be little less than *Madness* from such hands to expect an *Equivalent*.

XVII. Having touched upon these particulars as necessary in order to the stating the nature of an *equal Bargain*, and the Circumstances belonging to it, let it now be examined in two or three instances, what things are *not* to be admitted by way of Contract, to pass under the Name of an *Equivalent*.

First, Though it will be allowed, that in the general corruption of mankind, which will not admit *Justice* alone to be a sufficient tie to make good a Contract, that a *Punishment* added for the breach of it, is a *fitting* or rather a *necessary* Circumstance; yet it does not follow, that in all cases, a *great Penalty* upon the party offending is an *absolute* and an *entire Security*. It must be considered in every particular case, how far the *Circumstances* may rationally lead a Man to *rely more* or *less* upon it.

In a private instance, the *Penalty* inflicted upon the breach of Contract must be first, such a one as the party injured *can enforce*, and Secondly, such a one as he *will enforce*, when it is in his power.

If the *Offending party* is in a capacity of *hindring* the other from bringing the Vengeance of the Law upon him. If he hath *Strength* or *privilege* sufficient to *over rule* the

the Letter of the Contract; in that caſe, a *Penalty* is but a *Word*, there is no conſequence belonging to it. Secondly, The *forfeiture* or *puniſhment* muſt be ſuch as the Man aggrieved will *take*; for Example, if upon a Bargain, one of the Parties ſhall ſtipulate to ſubject himſelf, in caſe of his *failure* to have his *Ears cut*, or his *Noſe ſlit* by the other, with *ſecurity* given, that he ſhall not be proſecuted for *executing* this part of the Agreement; the *Penalty* is no doubt *heavy enough* to diſcourage a Man from breaking his Contract; but on the other ſide it is of *ſuch a kind*, that the other how much ſoever he may be provoked, will not in cold Blood care to inflict it. Such an extravagant Clauſe would ſeem to be made only for *ſhew* and *ſound*, and no Man would think himſelf ſafer by a thing which one way or other is ſure to prove *ineffectual*.

In a *publick* Caſe, Suppoſe in a Government ſo conſtituted that a *Law* may be made in the nature of a *Bargain*, it is in *it ſelf* no more than a *dead letter*, the *life* is given to it by the *execution* of what it containeth; ſo that let it in it ſelf be never ſo perfect, it *dependeth* upon thoſe who are intruſted with ſeeing it *obſerved*.

If it is in any Country, where the *chief Magistrate* chuseth the *Judges*, and the *Judges* interpret the *Laws*; a *Penalty* in any one particular Law can have no effect but what is *precarious*. It may have a *loud voice* to threaten, but it has not an *hand* to give a blow; for as long as the Governing Power is in possession of this Prerogative, let who will chuse the *Meat*, if they chuse the *Cooks*, it is they that will give the *taste* to it. So that it is clear that the *rigour* of a *Penalty* will not in all cases *fix* a *Bargain*, neither is it Universally a true Position, that the increase of *punishment* for the breach of a *new Law*, is an *Equivalent* for the consent to part with an *old* one.

XVIII. In most Bargains there is a reference to the *time to come*, which is therefore to be considered as well as that which cometh within the compass of the *present* valuation.

Where the *party Contracting*, hath not a *full power* to dispose what belongeth to him or them in *Reversion*, who shall succeed after him in his Right; he cannot make any part of what is so *limited* to be the *condition* of the Contract. Further, he cannot enjoyn the *Heir* or *Successor* to forbear the exercise of any Right that is *coherent* to him, as he is a Man; neither can he

be *reſtrain* him without his own conſent, from doing any act which in it ſelf is *lawful*, and liable to *no objection*. For Example, A *Father* cannot ſtipulate with any other Man, that in Conſideration of ſuch a thing done, or to be done, his *Son* ſhall *never Marry*; becauſe Marriage is an Inſtitution *Eſtabliſhed* by the Laws of God, and Man, and therefore no body can be ſo reſtrained by any power from doing *ſuch* an act, when he thinketh fit, being *warranted* by an Authority that is not to be controuled.

XIX. Now as there are *Rights inherent* in Mens perſons in their *ſingle capacities*, there are *Rights* as much *fixed* to the *Body Politick*, which is a Creature that never dieth. For inſtance, There can be no Government without a *Supreme Power*, that Power is not always in the *ſame* hands, it is in *different* ſhapes and dreſſes, but ſtill where-ever it is lodged, it muſt be *unlimited*: It hath a juriſdiction over every thing *elſe*, but it cannot have it above *it ſelf*. *Supreme Power* can no more be *limited* than *Infinity* can be *meaſured*; becauſe it ceaſeth to be the thing; its very being is diſſolved, when any bounds can be put to it.

Where this Supreme Power is *mixed*, or *divided*, the *ſhape* only *differeth*, the *Argument* is ſtill the *ſame*.

The preſent State of *Venice* cannot reſtrain thoſe who ſucceed them in the ſame power, from having an entire and unlimited Sovereignty; they may indeed make *preſent Laws* which ſhall retrench their *preſent Power*, if they are ſo diſpoſed, and thoſe *Laws* if not *repealed* by the *ſame authority* that enacted them, are to be *obſerved* by the ſucceeding Senate till they think fit to Abrogate them, and no longer; for if the Supreme Power ſhall ſtill reſide in the Senate, perhaps compoſed of *other* Men, or of *other* minds (which will be ſufficient) the neceſſary conſequence is, that *one* Senate muſt have as much right to *alter* ſuch a Law, as *another* could have to *make* it.

XX. Suppoſe the *Supreme Power* in any State ſhould make a *Law*, to enjoyn all ſubſequent Law-makers to take an *Oath* never to *alter it*, it would produce theſe following Abſurdities.

Firſt, All *Supreme Power* being inſtituted to promote the *ſafety* and *benefit*, and to prevent the *prejudice* and *danger* which may fall upon thoſe who live under the *protection* of it; the *conſequence* of ſuch an *Oath* would be, that all Men who are ſo truſted, ſhall take God to witneſs, that ſuch a Law once made, being judged *at the time*

to

to be *advantageous* for the publick, though *afterwards* by the viciſſitude of times, or the variety of accidents or intereſts, it ſhould plainly appear to them to be *deſtructive*, they will ſuffer it to have its courſe, and will never repeal it.

Secondly, If there could in any Nation be found a *ſet of Men*, who having a *part* in the *Supreme* legiſlative *Power*, ſhould as much as in them lieth, betray their Country by ſuch a criminal engagement, ſo *directly oppoſite* to the *nature* of their *Power*, and to the *Truſt* repoſed in them. If theſe Men have their power only for *life*, when they are dead ſuch an Oath can operate *no farther*; and thó that would be *too long* a Leaſe for the life of ſuch a *Monſter* as an *Oath ſo compoſed*, yet it muſt *then* certainly give up the Ghoſt. It could bind none but the *firſt* makers of it, *another* generation would never be tied up by it.

Thirdly, In thoſe Countries where the *Supreme Aſſemblies* are not conſtant *ſtanding* Courts, but called together upon *occaſions*, and Compoſed of ſuch as the People chuſe for *that time* only, with a Truſt and Character that remaineth no longer with them than till that Aſſembly is *regularly diſſolved*; ſuch an Oath taken by the Mem-

bers

bers of a Senate, Diet, or other Assembly so chosen, can have very little effect, because at the *next meeting* there may be quite *another set of Men* who will be under *no Obligation* of that kind. The eternity intended to that Law by those that made it, will be cut off by *new Men* who shall succeed them in their power, if they have a *differing Taste*, or another *Interest*.

XXI. To put it yet farther, Suppose a Clause in such a Law, that it shall be *criminal* in the last degree for any Man chosen in a subsequent Assembly, to *propose* the *repealing* of it; and since nothing can be *Enacted* which is not first *proposed*, by this means it seemeth as if a Law might be Created which should *never die*. But let this be Examined.

First, such a clause would be so *destructive* to the *being* of such a Constitution, as that it would be as reasonable to say, that a King had right to *give* or *sell* his Kingdom to a *foreign Prince*, as that any number of Men who are *entrusted* with the Supreme Power, or any part of it, should have a right to *impose* such Shackles upon the Liberty of those who are to *succeed* them in the *same Trust*. The ground of that *Trust* is, that every Man who is chosen into such an Assembly, is to do all that in

in him lieth for the *good* of thoſe who *choſe* him: The Engliſh of ſuch a Clauſe would be, that he is *not* to do his *beſt* for thoſe that *choſe* him, becauſe though he ſhould be *convinc'd* that it might be very *fatal* to *continue* that *Law*, and therefore very *neceſſary* to *repeal* it, yet he muſt not repeal it, becauſe it is made a *Crime*, and attended with a *Penalty*.

But ſecondly, to ſhew the *emptineſs* as well as *injuſtice* of ſuch a Clauſe, it is clear, that although ſuch an Invaſion of Right ſhould be impoſed, it will never be obeyed: There will only be *Deformity* in the *Monſter*, it will neither *ſting* nor *bite*. Such *Law-givers* would only have the honour of attempting a *contradiction* which can never have any ſucceſs; for as ſuch a *Law* in it ſelf would be a *Madneſs*, ſo the *Penalty* would be a *Jeſt*; which may be thus made out.

XXII. A Law that carrieth in it ſelf *Reaſon* enough to *ſupport* it, is ſo far from wanting the *protection* of ſuch a Clauſe, or from *needing* to take ſuch an *extraordinary receipt* for long Life, that the *admitting* it muſt certainly be the *likelieſt* and the *ſhorteſt* way to *deſtroy* it; ſuch a Clauſe in a Law muſt imply an opinion that the *greateſt* part of mankind is *againſt* it, ſince it is impoſſible

poſſible ſuch an exorbitance ſhould be done for its *own ſake*; the end of it muſt be to *force* Men by a *Penalty*, to that which they could *not* be *perſwaded* to, whilſt their Reaſon is left at *liberty*. This Poſition being granted, which I think can hardly be denied, put the caſe that a Law ſhould be made with this *imaginary* Clauſe of *Immortality*, after which another *Aſſembly* is choſen, and if the majority of the *Electors* ſhall be *againſt* this Law, the greater part of the *Elected* muſt be *ſo* too, if the choice is fair and regular; which muſt be preſumed, ſince the ſuppoſition of the contrary is not to come within this Argument. When theſe Men ſhall meet, the *Majority* will be viſible beforehand of thoſe who are *againſt* ſuch a Law, ſo that there will be no *hazard* to any ſingle Man in propoſing the *Repeal* of it, when he cannot be *puniſhed* but by the *Majority*, and he hath ſuch a kind of aſſurance as cometh near a Demonſtration, that the *greater Number* will be of his mind, and conſequently, that for their own ſakes they will *ſecure* him from any danger.

For theſe Reaſons, where-ever in order to the making a Bargain, a Propoſition is advanc'd to make a *new Law*, which is to tye up thoſe who neither *can* nor *will be bound* by it, it may be a good *Jeſt*, but it will never be a good *Equivalent*. XXIII.

XXIII. In the laſt place, let it be examined how far a *Promiſe* ought to be taken for a *Security* in a Bargain.

There is great Variety of Methods for the *Security* of thoſe that deal, according to their *Diſpoſitions* and *Intereſts*; ſome are *binding*, others inducing circumſtances, and are to be ſo diſtinguiſhed.

Firſt, *Ready Payment* is without exception, ſo of that there can be no diſpute; in default of that, the *good Opinion* Men may have of one another is a great ingredient to ſupply the want of *immediate* Performances. Where the Truſt is grounded upon *Inclination* only, the Generoſity is not always *return'd*; but where it ſpringeth from a *long Experience* it is a better foundation, and yet that is not always *ſecure*. In ordinary dealing, *one Promiſe* may be an *Equivalent* to *another*, but it is not ſo for a thing *actually* granted or conveyed; eſpecially if the thing required in exchange for it, is of great *value*, either in *it ſelf* or in its *conſequences*. A *bare* Promiſe as a *ſingle Security* in ſuch a caſe is not an *equal* propoſal; if it is offered by way of *addition*, it generally giveth cauſe to doubt the Titſe is crazy, where ſo *ſlender* a thing is brought in to be a *ſupplement*.

XXIV. The

XXIV. The *Earneſt* of making good a Promiſe, muſt be ſuch a behaviour *preceding*, as may encourage the party to whom it is made to depend upon it: Where inſtead of that, there hath been *want of Kindneſs*, and which is worſe an *Invaſion* of *Right*, a Promiſe hath no perſwading force; and till the *Objection* to ſuch a Proceeding is *forgotten*, (which can only be the work of time) and the Skin is a little grown over the tender part, the Wound muſt not be touch'd. There muſt be ſome *Intermiſſion* at leaſt to abate the ſmart of *unkind uſage*, or elſe a Promiſe in the Eye of the party injur'd is ſo far from *ſtrengthening* a Security, that it raiſeth more *doubts*, and giveth more juſtifiable cauſe to *ſuſpect* it.

A *Word* is not like a Bone, that being broken and well ſet again, is ſaid to be ſometimes ſtronger in that very part: It is far from being ſo in a *Word* given and *not made good*. Every ſingle Act either *weakeneth* or *improveth* our Credit with other Men; and as an habit of being *juſt* to our Word will *confirm*, ſo an habit of too freely *diſpenſing* with it muſt neceſſarily *deſtroy* it. A *Promiſe* hath its effect to perſwade a Man to lay ſome weight upon it, where the *Promiſer* hath not only the *power*, but may reaſonably be ſuppoſed to have

have the *will* of performing it; and further, that there be no *visible interest* of the party promising to excuse himself from it, or to evade it.

All Obligations are *comparative*, and where they seem to be opposite, or between the greater and the lesser, which of them ought to have precedence in all respects every man is apt to be his *own Judge*.

XXV. If it should fall out that the *Promiser* with full *intent* at the *time* to perform, might by the interposition of *new Arguments*, or *differing Advice* think himself oblig'd to turn the matter of Conscience on the *other* side, and should look upon it to be much a *greater* fault to *keep* his word than to *break* it; such a Belief will *untye* the *strictest Promise* that can be made, and though the Party thus absolving himself should do it *without* the mixture or temptation of *private interest*, being moved to it meerly by his *Conscience*, as then informed; yet how far soever that might diminish the *Fault* in *him*, it would in no degree lessen the *inconveniences* to the *party* who is *disappointed*, by the breach of an engagement upon which he relyed.

XXVI. A *Promise* is to be understood in the *plain* and *natural* sense of the words, and to be sure not in his who *made* it, if it

was

was given as part of a Bargain. That would be like giving a Man power to *raiſe* the *value* of his Money in the payment of his *Debt*, by which, tho he paid but half or leſs, he might pretend according to the letter to have made good the Contract.

The *power* of *interpreting* a Promiſe intirely taketh away the *virtue* of it. A Merchant who ſhould once aſſume that privilege, would ſave himſelf the trouble of making any more Bargains.

It is ſtill worſe if this *Juriſdiction* over a Man's *Promiſe*, ſhould be *lodg'd* in hands that have Power to ſupport ſuch an *extraordinary Claim*; and if in *other* Caſes, forbearing to deal upon thoſe terms is *adviſable*, in this it becometh abſolutely *neceſſary*.

XXVII. There muſt in all reſpects be a full liberty to *claim* a Promiſe, to make it reaſonable to *take* it in any part of payment; elſe it would be like agreeing for a *Rent*, and at the ſame time making it *criminal* to *demand it*.

A *Superiority* of *Dignity* or *Power* in the party promiſing maketh it a more *tender* thing for the other party to treat upon that ſecurity. The firſt maketh it a *nice* thing to *claim*, the latter maketh it a *difficult* thing to *obtain*.

In ſome caſes, a *Promiſe* is in the nature of a *Covenant*, and then between *equal* parties

the breach of it will bear a *Suit*; but where the *greatness* of the Promiser is very much raised above the level of *equality*, there is no Forfeiture to be taken. It is so far from the party grieved his being able to *sue* or *recover Damages*, that he will not be allowed to *explain* or *expostulate*, and instead of his being *relieved* against the breach of Promise, he will run the hazard of being *punished* for breach of Good Manners. Such a Difficulty is putting all or part of the Payment in the Fire, where men must burn their Fingers before they can come at it.

That cannot properly be called *good payment*, which the party to whom it is due may not receive with *ease* and *safety*. It was a Kings Brother of *England* who refused to lend the Pope money, for this reason, *That he would never take the Bond of one, upon whom he could not distrain.*

The Argument is still *stronger* against the Validity of a Promise, when the Contract is made between a *Prince* and a *Subject*. The very offering a Kings Word in Mortgage is rather a *threatning* in case of refusal, than an *inducing* Argument to accept it; it is *unfair* at *first*, and by that giveth greater cause to be cautious, especially if a thing of that *value* and *dignity* as a Kings Word

ought to be, should be put into the [illegible] of *State-Brokers* to strike up a Bargain with it.

XXVIII. When God Almighty makes Covenants with Mankind, *His Promise* is *sufficient Security*, notwithstanding his *superiority* and his *Power*; because first, he can neither *erre* nor do *injustice*. It is the *only* Exception to his Omnipotence, that by the Perfection of his *being* he is incapacitated to do *wrong*. Secondly, at the instant of his *Promise*, by the extent of his Foresight, which cannot fail, there is no room left for the possibility of any thing to intervene, which might *change* his mind. Thirdly, he is above the receiving either *Benefit* or *Inconvenience*, and therefore can have no *Interest* or *Temptation* to vary from his Word, when once he hath granted it.

Now though Princes are God's Vicegerents, yet their Commission not being so large, as that *these Qualifications* are devolved to them, it is quite another case, and since the *offering* a Security implyeth it to be *examined* by the party to whom it is proposed, it must not be taken ill that Objections are made to it, even though the Prince himself should be the *immediate Proposer*.

Let

familiar Case be put; Suppose a
e, tempted by a Passion too strong
im to resist, should descend so as to
ke Marriage to one of his Subjects,
s Men are naturally in great haste
n such occasions, should press to take
ssion before the *necessary Forms* could
mplyed with; would the poor Ladies
es be called *criminal* for not taking
Security of the Royal Word? Or
d her *Allegiance* be tainted by her *re-*
the sacred Person of her Sovereign,
e he was impatient of delay? *Courte-*
this case might perswade her to *ac-*
if she was so disposed, but sure the
ercise of Power can never *claim* it.

XIX. There is one Case where it is
particularly a *Duty* to use very *great*
in accepting the security of a Pro-
and that is, when Men are *authorized*
rusted by *others* to act for them. This
eth them under much *greater restraints*,
those who are at liberty to treat for
selves. It is *lawful*, though it is not
ent for any man to make an *ill Bar-*
for *himself*, but it is neither the one nor
other, where the party contracting
eth on behalf of *another*, by whom he
trusted. Men who will unwarily ac-
an *ill security*, if it is for *themselves*,

forfeit their own diſcretion, and [illegible] the Penalty, but they are not reſpon[illegible] to any body elſe. They lie under Mortification and the loſs of commi[illegible] the error, by which though they may [illegible] poſe their *Judgment* to ſome *cenſure*, [illegible] their *Morality* ſuffers no *reproach* by it.

But thoſe who are *deputed* by *others* treat for them, upon terms of *beſt ad[illegible] tage*, though the *Confidence* placed in t[illegible] ſhould prevent the putting any *limits* their Power in their Commiſſion, yet *Condition implied* if not *expreſſed*, is the Perſons ſo Truſted ſhall neither an *ill Bargain*, nor accept a *ſlight Sec[illegible]*

The Obligation is yet *more* binding the Truſt is of a *Publick* Nature. T[illegible] gravation of diſappointing a *Body* of that *rely* upon them, carrieth the as *high* as it can go, and perhaps no C[illegible] of any kind can outdo ſuch a *delibe[illegible] breach* of *Truſt*, or would more juſtly m[illegible] Men *forfeit* the protection of *humane S[illegible] ciety*.

XXX. I will add one thing more up[illegible] this, Head, which is, that it is not *alw[illegible]* a *true Propoſition*, that 'tis ſafe to rely up[illegible] a Promiſe, if at the *time* of making it, is the *Intereſt* of the *Promiſer* to make good. This, though many times it is

[illegible]

ducement, yet it hath these Excep-
to it. First, if the Proposer hath at
times gone plainly *against* his *visible*
st, the Argument will turn the other
and his *former Mistakes* are so many
rnings to others, not to come within
danger of any more: let the *Induce-*
to those Mistakes be never so *great*
generous, that does not alter the Nature,
are *Mistakes* still.

tereſt is an *uncertain* thing, It goeth
cometh, and varieth according to
and circumstances; as good build
a *Quicksand*, as upon a presumption
Intereſt shall not *alter*. Where are the
so distinguished from the rest of Man-
that it is impossible for them to
their Intereſt? Who are they that
such an exemption from humane
y, as that it can never happen to them
see their Intereſt for want of Under-
anding, or not to *leap over it* by ex-
of Zeal.

Above all, *Princes* are the *most* liable to
stake; not out of any *defect* in their Na-
e, which might put them under such an
fortunate distinction; quite contrary, the
od they derive from wise and great An-
tors, does rather distinguish them on the
ter side; besides that their great Cha-

racter and Office of Governing giveth
noble Exercise to their Reason, which
very hardly fail to raise and improve
But there is one Circumstance annexed
their Glorious Calling, which in this
spect is sufficient to outweigh all those
vantages; it is that *Mankind*, divided
most things else, agree in this, to *con*
in their endeavors to *deceive* and *mi*
them; which maketh it above the po
of humane understanding, to be so exa
guarded as never to admit a surprise,
the highest applause that could ever
be given to the greatest Men that ever
a Crown, is that they *were no oftner*
ceived.

Thus I have ventur'd to lay down
thoughts of the *Nature* of a *Bargain*,
the *due Circumstances* belonging to an
valent, and will now conclude with
short word. "Where *Distrusting* may
"the cause of provoking Anger, and *T*
"*ing* may be the cause of bringing Ru
"*the Choice is too easie to need the he*
"*Explained*.

A LETTER TO A DISSENTER,

Upon occasion of His Majesties late Gracious Declaration of Indulgence.

LONDON:
Printed in the Year 1700.

A

LETTER

TO A

DISSENTER,

n Occasion of His Majesties
e Gracious Declaration of In-
ulgence.

IR,

INCE Addresses are in fashion,
give me leave to make one to you.
This is neither the Effect of Fear,
Interest, or Resentment; therefore
may be sure it is sincere: and for that

reason it may expect to be kindly receiv[illegible] Whether it will have power enough [illegible] Convince, dependeth upon the Reas[illegible] of which you are to judge; and upon y[illegible] Preparation of Mind, to be perswaded [illegible] Truth, whenever it appeareth to you, [illegible] ought not to be the less welcome, [illegible] coming from a friendly Hand, one wh[illegible] kindness to you is not lessened by d[illegible] rence of Opinion, and who will not le[illegible] Thoughts for the Publick be so [illegible] confined to this or that Sub-divisi[illegible] Protestants, as to [illegible] the [illegible] which, besides all [illegible] Argument[illegible] at this time become necessary to [illegible] serve us.

I am neither surprized nor provoked [illegible] see that in the Condition you were [illegible] into by the Laws, and the ill Circumst[illegible] you lay under, by having the Exclu[illegible] and Rebellion said to your Charge, [illegible] were desirous to make your selves less [illegible] easy and obnoxious to Authority. M[illegible] who are sore, run to the nearest Rem[illegible] with too much hast to consider all the [illegible] sequences: Grains of allowance are to [illegible] given, where Nature giveth such stro[illegible]

Ind[illegible]

...ences. When to Men under Suffer-
... it offereth Ease, the present Pain will
... allow time to examine the Reme-
... and the strongest Reason can hard-
...ain a fair Audience from our Mind,
...st so possessed, till the Smart is a little
...ed.

...do not know whether the Warmth
... naturally belongeth to new Friend-
... may not make it a harder Task for
... perswade you. Is it like telling
... in the beginning of their Joys,
... will in a little time have an
... Such an unanimous Still doth not
... find Credit: but I will suppose you
... not so far gone in your new Passi-
... that you will *Hear* still; and there-
... I am under the his Discouragement,
... offer to your Consideration two
... The *First* is, The Cause you have
... your new Friends. The *Second*,
... Very incumbent upon you, in Chri-
...y and Prudence, not to hazard the
... Safety, neither by desire of Ease,
... of Revenge.

To the *First*: Consider that notwith-

ſtanding the ſmooth Language which now put on to engage you, theſe Friends did not make you their Choice but their Refuge: They have ever made their firſt Courtſhips to the Church of *England*, and when they were rejected then they made their Application to you in the ſecond place. The inſtances of this may be given in all times. I do not repeat them, becauſe whatſoever is unneceſſary muſt be tedious, the Truth of this Aſſertion being ſo plain, as not to admit Diſpute. You cannot therefore reaſonably flatter your ſelves, that there is any Inclination to you. They never pretended to allow you any Quarter, but to uſher in Liberty for themſelves under that Shelter. I refer you to Mr. *Coleman's Letters*, and to the *Journals* of Parliament, where you may be convinced, if you can be ſo unſtaken, as to doubt: nay, at this very hour they can hardly forbear in the height of their Courtſhip to let fall hard Words upon you. So little is Nature to be reſtrained, it will ſtart out ſometimes, diſdaining to ſubmit to the Uſurpation of Art and Intereſt.

This

This Alliance, between *Liberty* and *Infallibility*, is bringing together the Two most contrary things that are in the World. The Church of *Rome* doth not only dissolve the allowing Liberty, but by its Principles it cannot do it. Wine is not more expressly forbid to the *Mahometans*, than giving Hereticks Liberty to the *Papists*: they are no more able to make good their Vows to you, than Men married before, and their Wife alive, can confirm their Contract with another. The continuance of their kindness would be a habit of Sin, of which they are to repent, and their Resolution is to be had upon no other terms, than their promise to destroy you. You are therefore to be hugged now, only that you may be the better squeezed at another time. There must be something extraordinary, when the Church of *Rome* setteth up Bills, and offereth Plaisters, for tender Consciences: By all that hath hitherto appeared, her skill in Chirurgery lieth chiefly in a quick Hand, to cut off Limbs; but she is the worst in healing, of any that ever pretended to it.

To come so quick from another Extreme, is such an unnatural Motion, that you ought to be upon your Guard; the other day you were *Sons of Belial*: Now you are *Angels of Light*. This is a violent change, and it will be fit for you to pause upon it, before you believe it: if your Features are not altered, neither is their Opinion of you, what ever may be pretended. Do you believe less than you did, that there is Idolatry in the Church of *Rome*? Sure you do not. Sure then, how they treat both in Words and Writing, those who entertain this Opinion. Conclude from hence, how inconsistent their Favour is with this single Article, except they give you a Dispensation for this too, and by a *Non Obstante*, secure you that they will not think the worse of you.

Think a little how dangerous it is to build upon a Foundation of Paradoxes. Popery now is the only Friend to Liberty; and the known Enemy to Persecution. The Men of *Taunton* and *Tiverton*, are above all other Eminent for Loyalty. The

Quakers

Quakers from being declared by the Papists not to be Christians, are now made Favourites, and taken into their particular protection; they are on a sudden grown the most accomplished Men of the Kingdom, in good Breeding, and give Thanks with the best Grace, in double refined Language. So that I should not wonder, though a Man of that Perswasion, in one of his Art, should be Master of the Ceremonies. Not to say harsher words, these are such very new things, that it is impossible not to suspend our Belief, till by a little more Experience we may be informed whether they are Realities or Apparitions. We have been under shameful mistakes if these Opinions are true; but for the present, we are apt to be incredulous; except we could be convinced, that the Priests words in this case too, are able to make such a sudden and effectual change; and that their Power is not limited to the Sacrament, but that it extendeth to alter the nature of all other things, as often as they are so desposed.

Let

Let me now ſpeak of the Inſtruments of your Friendſhip, and then leave you to judge, whether they do not afford matter of Suſpition. No ſharpneſs is to be mingled where Healing only is intended, ſo nothing will be ſaid to expoſe particular men, how ſtrong ſoever the Temptation may be, or how clear the Proofs to make it out. A word or two in general, for your better caution, ſhall ſuffice: Suppoſe then, for Argument's ſake, that the Mediators of this new Alliance, ſhould be ſuch as have been formerly employed in Treaties of the ſame kind, and there detected to have Acted by Order, and to have been Impower'd to give Encouragements and Rewards. Would not this be an Argument to ſuſpect them?

If they ſhould plainly be under Engagements to one ſide, their Arguments to the other ought to be received accordingly; their fair Pretences are to be looked upon as part of their Commiſſion, which may not improbably give them a Diſpenſation in the caſe of Truth, when it may bring a prejudice upon the Service of thoſe by whom they are imployed.

If

If there ſhould be men who having formerly had Means and Authority to perſwade by Secular Arguments, have in purſuance of that Power, ſprinkled Money amongſt the Diſſenting Miniſters; and if thoſe very men ſhould now have the ſame Authority, practice the ſame Methods and Diſburſe, where they cannot otherwiſe perſwade: It ſeemeth to me to be rather an Evidence than a Preſumption of the Deceit.

If there ſhould be Miniſters amongſt you, who by having fallen under Temptations of this kind, are in ſome ſort engaged to continue their Enmity, by the awe they are in leſt it ſhould be expoſed. The Perſwaſions of theſe unfortunate Men muſt have the leſs force, and their Arguments, though never ſo ſpecious, are to be ſuſpected, when they come from Men who have mortgaged themſelves to ſeveral Creditors, that expect a rigorous Obſervation of the Contract; let it be never ſo unwarrantable.

If theſe, or any others, ſhould at this time Preach up Anger and Vengeance againſt the Church of *England*; may it not without

out Injustice be suspected, that a thing so plainly out of Season, sprinketh rather from Corruption than Mistake; and that those who act this Choleriek part, do not believe themselves, but only pursue higher Directions, and endeavour to make good that part of their Contract which obligeth them, upon a Forfeiture, to make use of their inflaming Eloquence? They might apprehend their Wages would be retrenched if they should be Moderate: And therefore whilst Violence is their interest, those who have not the same Arguments, have no reason to follow such a partial Example.

If there should be Men, who by the load of their Crimes against the Government, have been bowed down to comply with it against their Conscience, who by incurring the want of a Pardon, have drawn upon themselves a necessity of an entire Resignation: Such men are to be lamented, but not to be believed. Nay, they themselves when they have discharged their Unwelcome Task, will be inwardly glad that their forced Endeavours do not succeed, and are pleased when men resist

refuse their Infinuations; which are far from being [illegible] out of them by the Weight of their being ſo Obnoxious.

If in the [illegible] neſs by [illegible] [illegible] [illegible]

dinary Courage at this unseasonable time, to say no more, is too dangerous a Virtue to be commended.

If then for these and a thousand other Reasons, there is cause to suspect, sure your new Friends are not to dictate to you, or advise you; for instance, The Addresses that are abroad every Week, and Murthermus with *mother to the same*; the first Draughts are made by those who are not very proper to be Secretaries to the Protestant Religion; and it is your part only to Write them out fairer again.

Strange! that you who have been formerly so much against *Set Forms*, should now be content the Priests should Indite for you. The nature of Thanks is an unavoidable consequence of being pleased or obliged; they grow in the Heart, and from thence shew themselves either in Looks, Speech, Writing, or Action: No man was ever Thankful because he was bid to be so, but because he had, or thought

thought he had ſome Reaſon for it. If then there is cauſe in this Caſe to pay ſuch extravagant Acknowledgments, they will flow naturally, without taking ſuch pains to procure them; and it is unkindly done to Tire all the Poſt-Horſes with carrying Circular Letters to ſollicite that which would be done without any Trouble or conſtraint: If it is really in it ſelf ſuch a favour, what needeth ſo much preſſing men to be thankful, and with ſuch eager circumſtances, that where Perſwations cannot delude, Threatnings are employed to fright them into a Compliance. Thanks muſt be voluntary, not only unconſtrained, but unſollicited, elſe they are either Trifles or Snares, that either ſignifie nothing, or a great deal more than is intended by thoſe that give them. If an Inference ſhould be made, That whoſoever thanketh the King for his Declaration, is by that Engaged to Juſtifie it in point of Law; it is a greater Stride than, I preſume, all thoſe care to make who are perſwaded to Addreſs. If it ſhall be ſuppoſed, that all the Thankers will be Repealers of the TEST, whenever a *Parliament* ſhall meet. Such an Expectation

is

is better prevented before, than diſappointed afterwards; and the ſureſt way to avoid the lying under ſuch a Scandal, is not to do any thing that may give a colour to the Miſtake. Thoſe be-ſpoken Thanks are little leſs improper than Love Letters that were ſolicited by the Lady to whom they are to be directed: ſo, that beſides the little ground there is to give them, the manner of getting them doth extremely leſſen their Value. It might be wiſhed that you would have ſuppreſſed your impatience, and have been content for the ſake of Religion, to enjoy it within your ſelves without the Liberty of a Publick Exerciſe, till a Parliament had allowed it; but ſince that could not be, and that the Artifices of ſome amongſt you have made uſe of the Well-meant Zeal of the generality to draw them into this Miſtake; I am ſo far from blaming you with that ſharpneſs which, perhaps, the Matter in ſtrictneſs would bear, that I am ready to err on the ſide of the more gentle conſtruction.

There

There is a great difference between enjoying quietly the Advantages of an Act irregularly done by others, and the going about to support it against the Laws in being: the Law is so sacred, that no Trespass against it is to be defended; yet [illegible] may in some measure be excused, when they cannot be justified. The Desire of enjoying a Liberty from which men have been so long restrained, may be a Temptation that their Reason is not at all timeable to resist. It in such a case, some Objections [illegible] over, indifferent men will be more inclined to lament the Question, than to fall too hard upon the Fault, whilst it is covered with the Apology of a good Intention; but where to rescue your selves from the Severity of one Law, you give a Blow to all the Laws, by which your Religion and Liberty are to be protected; and instead of silently receiving the Benefit of this Indulgence, you set up for Advocates to support it, you become voluntary Aggressors, and

look like Counſel retained by the Prerogative againſt your old Friend *Magna Charta*, who hath done nothing to deſerve her falling thus under your Diſpleaſure.

If the Caſe then ſhould be, that the Price expected from you for this Liberty, is giving up your Right in the Laws, ſure you will think twice, before you go any farther in ſuch a loſing Bargain. After giving Thanks for the Breach of one Law, you loſe the Right of Complaining of the Breach of all the reſt; you will not very well know how to defend yourſelves when you are preſſed; and having given up the Queſtion when it was for your Advantage, you cannot re-call it when it ſhall be to your Prejudice. If you will ſet up at one time a Power to help you, which at another time, by parity of Reaſon, ſhall be made uſe of to deſtroy you, you will neither be pitied, nor relieved againſt a Miſchief you draw upon your ſelves by being ſo unreaſonably thankful. It is like calling in Auxiliaries

nes to help, who are ſtrong enough to ſubdue you. In ſuch a caſe your Complaints will come too late to be heard, and your Sufferings will raiſe Mirth inſtead of Compaſſion.

If you think, for your Excuſe, to expound your Thanks, ſo as to reſtrain them to this particular Caſe, others, for their Ends, will extend them further: And in theſe differing Interpretations, that which is back'd by Authority will be the moſt likely to prevail; eſpecially when by the Advantage you have given them, they have in truth the better of the Argument, and that the Inferences from your own Conceſſions are very ſtrong, and expreſs againſt you. This is ſo far from being a groundleſs Suppoſition, that there was a late Inſtance of it, the laſt Seſſion of Parliament, in the Houſe of Lords, where the firſt Thanks, though things of courſe, were interpreted to be the Approbation of the Kings whole Speech, and a Reſtraint from the further Examination of any part of it, though never ſo much

much diſliked; and it was with difficulty obtained, not to be excluded from the liberty of objecting to this mighty Prerogative of Diſpenſing, meerly by this innocent and uſual piece of good Manners, by which no ſuch thing could poſſibly be intended.

This ſheweth, that ſome Bounds are to be put to your good Breeding, and that the Conſtitution of *England* is too valuable a thing to be ventured upon a Complement. Now that you have for ſome time enjoyed the Benefit of the End, it is time for you to look into the Danger of the Means: The ſame Reaſon that made you deſirous to get Liberty, muſt make you ſolicitous to preſerve it; ſo that the next Thought will naturally be, not to engage your ſelf beyond Retreat, and to agree ſo far with the Principles of all Religion, as not to rely upon a Death-Bed Repentance.

There are certain Periods of Time, which being once paſt, make all Cautions ineffectual, and all Remedies deſperate.

rate. Our Underſtandings are apt to be hurried on by the firſt Heats, which, if not reſtrained in time, do not give us leave to look back, till it is too late. Conſider this in the Caſe of your Anger againſt the Church of *England*, and take warning by their Miſtake in the ſame kind, when after the late King's Reſtauration, they preſerved ſo long the bitter Taſte of your rough Uſage to them in other times, that it made them forget their Intereſt, and ſacrifice it to their Revenge.

Either you will blame this Proceeding in them, and for that reaſon not follow it, or if you allow it, you have no reaſon to be offended with them; ſo that you muſt either diſmiſs your Anger, or loſe your Excuſe; except you ſhould argue more partially than will be ſuppoſed of Men of your Morality and Underſtanding.

If you had now to do with thoſe rigid Prelates, who made it a matter of Conſcience to give you the leaſt Indulgence, but kept you at an uncharitable

table Diſtance, and even to your moſt reaſonable Scruples continued ſtiff and inexorable, the Argument might be fairer on your ſide; but ſince the common Danger hath ſo laid open that Miſtake, that all the former Haughtineſs towards you is for ever extinguiſhed, and that it hath turned the Spirit of Perſecution into a Spirit of Peace, Charity, and Condeſcenſion; ſhall this happy Change only affect the Church of *England*? And are you ſo in love with Separation, as not to be mov'd by this Example? It ought to be followed, were there no other Reaſon than that it is Vertue, but when beſides that, it is become neceſſary to your Preſervation, it is impoſſible to fail the having its Effect upon you.

If it ſhould be ſaid, that the Church of *England* is never humble but when ſhe is out of power, and therefore loſeth the Right of being believed when ſhe pretended to it: The Anſwer is, *Firſt*, it would be an uncharitable Objection, and very much miſtimed;

timed; an unſeaſonable Triumph, not only ungenerous, but unſafe. So that in theſe reſpects it cannot be urged without Scandal, even though it could be ſaid with Truth. *Secondly*, This is not ſo in Fact, and the Argument muſt fall, being built upon a falſe Foundation; for whatever may be told you at this very Hour, and in the Heat and Glare of your preſent Sunſhine, the Church of *England* can in a Moment bring Clouds again; and turn the Royal Thunder upon your Heads, blow you off the Stage with a Breath, if ſhe would give but a Smile or a kind Word; the leaſt Glimpſe of her Compliance would throw you back into the State of Suffering, and draw upon you all the Arrears of Severity, which have accrued during the time of this Kindneſs to you, and yet the Church of *England*, with all her Faults, will not allow her ſelf to be reſcued by ſuch unjuſtifiable means, but chuſeth to bear the Weight of Power, rather than lie under the Burthen of being criminal.

It cannot be ſaid, that ſhe is unprovoked; Books and Letters come out every Day, to call for Anſwers, yet ſhe will not be ſtirred. From the ſuppoſed Authors, and the Stile, one would ſwear they were Undertakers, and had made a Contract to fall out with the Church of *England*. There are Laſhes in every Addreſs, Challenges to draw the Pen in every Pamphlet: In ſhort, the faireſt Occaſions in the World given to quarrel; but ſhe wiſely diſtinguiſheth between the Body of Diſſenters, whom ſhe will ſuppoſe to act as they do, with no ill Intent; and theſe ſmall Skirmiſhers, pickt and ſent out to picqueer, and to begin a Fray amongſt the Proteſtants, for the Entertainment as well as the Advantage of the Church of *Rome*.

This Conduct is ſo good, that it will be ſcandalous not to applaud it. It is not equal Dealing to blame our Adverſaries for doing ill, and not commend them when they do well.

To

To hate them becauſe they perſecuted, and not to be reconciled to them when they are ready to ſuffer, rather than receive all the Advantages that can be gained by a Criminal Complyance, is a Principle no ſort of Chriſtians can own, ſince it would give an Objection to them never to be anſwered.

Think a little who they were that promoted your former Perſecutions, and then conſider how it will look to be angry with the Inſtruments, and at the ſame time to make a League with the Authors of your Sufferings.

Have you enough conſidered what will be expected from you? Are you ready to ſtand in every Borough by Vertue of a *Conge d'eſlire*, and inſtead of Election, be ſatisfied if you are Returned?

Will you in *Parliament* juſtifie the Diſpenſing Power, with all its Conſequeences

quences, and Repeal the *Test*, by which you will make way for the Repeal of all the Laws, that were made to preserve your Religion, and to Enact others that shall destroy it?

Are you disposed to change the Liberty of Debate into the Merit of Obedience; and to be made Instruments to repeal or enact Laws, when the *Roman Consistory* are *Lords of the Articles*?

Are you so linked with your new Friends, as to reject any Indulgence a *Parliament* shall offer you, if it shall not be so comprehensive as to include the Papists in it?

Consider, that the implyed Conditions of your new Treaty are no less, than that you are to do every thing you are desired, without examining, and that for this pretended Liberty of Conscience, your real Freedom is to be sacrificed: Your former Faults hang like Chains still about you, you are let loose only upon Bayl; the first

Act

Act of Non-compliance, ſenderh you to Jayl again.

You may ſee that the Papiſts themſelves do not relie upon the Legality of this Power, which you are to juſtifie, ſince the being ſo very earneſt to get it eſtabliſhed by a Law, and the doing ſuch very hard things in order, is they think, to obtain it, is a clear Evidence, that they do not think that the ſingle Power of the Crown is in this Caſe a good Foundation, eſpecially when this is done under a Prince, ſo very tender of all the Rights of Sovereignty, that he would think it a Diminution to his Prerogative, where he conceiveth it ſtrong enough to go alone, to call in the Legiſlative help to ſtrengthen and ſupport it.

You have formerly blamed the *Church of England*, and not without reaſon, for going ſo far as they did in their Compliance; and yet as ſoon as they ſtopped, you ſee they are not only deſerted, but proſecuted: Conclude then from this Example, that you muſt either

ther break off your Friendſhip, or reſolve to have no Bounds in it. If they do not ſucceed in their Deſign, they will leave you firſt; if they do, you muſt either leave them, when it will be too late, for your Safety, or elſe after the ſqueaziness of ſtarting at a Surplice, you muſt be forced to ſwallow Tranſubſtantiation.

Remember that the other day thoſe of the *Church of England* were *Trimmers* for enduring you, and now by a ſudden Turn, you are become the Favourites; do not deceive your ſelves, it is not the nature of laſting Plants thus to ſhoot up in a Night; you may look gay and green for a little time, but you want a Root to give you a Continuance. It is not ſo long ſince, as to be forgotten, that the *Maxim* was, *It is impoſſible for a Diſſenter not to be a* REBEL. Conſider at this time in *France*, even the new Converts are ſo far from being imployed, that they are diſarmed; their ſudden Change maketh them ſtill to be diſtruſted, notwithſtanding that they are reconciled:

What

What are you to expect then from your dear Friends, to whom, when ever they ſhall think fit to throw you off again, you have in other times given ſuch Arguments for their excuſe?

Beſides all this, you Act very unskilfully againſt your viſible Intereſt, if you throw away the Advantages, of which you can hardly fail in the next probable Revolution. Things tend naturally to what you would have, if you would let them alone, and not by an unſeaſonable Activity loſe the Influences of your good Star, which promiſeth you every thing that is proſperous.

The *Church of England* convinced of its Error in being ſevere to you; the *Parliament*, when-ever it meeteth, ſure to be gentle to you; the next Heir bred in the Country which you have ſo often quoted for a Pattern of Indulgence; a general Agreement of all thinking Men, that we muſt no more cut our ſelves off from the Proteſtants abroad, but rather inlarge the Foundations

tions upon which we are to build our Defences against the Common Enemy; so that in truth, all things seem to conspire to give you Ease and Satisfaction, if by too much haste to anticipate your good Fortune, you do not destroy it.

The Protestants have but one Article of Humane Strength, to oppose the Power which is now against them, and that is, not to lose the advantage of their Numbers, by being so unwary as to let themselves be divided.

We all agree in our Duty to our Prince; our Objections to his Belief do not hinder us from seeing his Vertues; and our not complying with his Religion, hath no effect upon our Allegiance; we are not to be laughed out of our Passive-Obedience, and the Doctrine of Non-Resistance: though even those who perhaps owe the best part of their Security to that Principle, are apt to make a Jest of it.

So

So that if we give no advantage by the fatal Miſtake of miſapplying our Anger, by the natural courſe of things, this Danger will paſs away like a ſhower of Hail; fair weather will ſucceed, as lowering as the Sky now looketh, and all this by plain and eaſie Receipt; *Let us be ſtill, quiet, and undivided, firm at the ſame time to our Religion, our Loyalty, and our Laws; and ſo long as we continue this method, it is next to impoſſible, that the odds of 200 to one ſhould loſe the Bett; except the Church of* Rome, *which hath been ſo long barren of Miracles, ſhould now in her declining Age, be brought to Bed of One that would out-do the beſt ſhe can brag of in her* Legend.

To conclude, the ſhort Queſtion will be, Whether you will join with thoſe who muſt in the end run the ſame Fate with you? If Proteſtants of all ſorts, in their Behaviour to one another, have been to blame, they are upon the more equal terms, and for that very reaſon it is fitter for them now to be reconciled. Our Diſ-union is not only

a Reproach, but a Danger to us; thoſe who believe in modern Miracles, have more Right, or at leaſt more Excuſe, to neglect all Secular Cautions; but for us, it is as juſtifiable to have no Religion, as wilfully to throw away the Humane Means of preſerving it. I am,

Dear Sir,

Your moſt Affectionate humble Servant,

T. W.

SOME CAUTIONS

Offered to the

CONSIDERATION

Of Thoſe who are to

Chuſe MEMBERS

TO SERVE in the

Enſuing Parliament.

LONDON,
Printed in the Year, 1699.

SOME

CAUTIONS

Offered to the

CONSIDERATION

Of Those who are to

Chuse MEMBERS

TO SERVE in the

Ensuing Parliament.

LONDON,

Printed in the Year, 1695.

Some Cautions offered to the Consideration of those who are to chuse Members to serve for the Ensuing Parliament.

I Will make no other Introduction, than that it is hoped the Counties and Boroughs will remember in general, That besides other Consequences, they will have the Credit of a good Choice, or the Scandal that belongeth to an ill one.

The Creators will be thought like their Creatures; and therefore an ill Choice will either be a disparagement of their Understanding, or their Morals.

There cannot be a fuller Approbation of a thing, than the Chusing of it; so that the fault of the Members chosen, if known before-hand, will be judged to be of the growth of that County or Borough, after such a solemn Approbation of them.

In short, those who send up their Representatives to *Westminster*, should take care they may be such as will do them Right, and their Countrey Honour.

Now to the particulars.

I. A very extraordinary earneſtneſs to be choſen, is no very good Symptom: A deſire to ſerve the Nation in Parliament, is an *Engliſh* Man's Ambition: Always to be Encouraged, and never to be diſapproved.

A Man may not only be willing to ſtand, but he may declare that willingneſs to his Friends, that they may aſſiſt him, and by all the means becoming a modeſt and prudent Man, he may endeavour to ſucceed and prevent the being diſappointed in it.

But there is a wide difference between this and the raiſing a kind of petty War in the County or Corporation; entring the Liſts rather for a Combat than an Election; throwing Fire-balls to put Men into heat, and omitting to ſpread no Reports, whether true or falſe, which may give an advantage by laying a Blemiſh upon a Competitor.

Theſe Methods will ever be ſuſpicious; it will never be thought a Natural thing for Men to take ſuch extravagant pains for the meer ſake of doing good to others.

To be content to ſuffer ſomething for a good end, is that which many would do without any great repugnance; but where a Man can honeſtly propoſe nothing to himſelf, except Troubles, Charge, and Loſs, by abſence from his own Affairs, to be ſo

violent in the purſuit of ſo ill a Bargain, is not at all ſuited to the languiſhing Virtue of Mankind ſo corrupted.

Such a ſelf-denying Zeal in ſuch a ſelf-ſeeking Age, is ſo little to be imagin'd, that it may without injury be ſuſpected.

Therefore when theſe bluſtring Pretenders come upon the Stage, their natural Temper and other Circumſtances ought to be very well conſider'd, before Men truſt them with the diſpoſal of their Money, or their Liberty.

And I am apt to believe, there could hardly be found one ſingle Man whoſe other Qualifications would over-balance the Objections that lie againſt ſuch importunate Suitors.

II. Recommending Letters ought to have no effect upon Elections.

In this I muſt diſtinguiſh; for tho in ſtrictneſs perhaps there ſhould be no Exception; yet in compliance with long practice, and out of an Indulgence that is neceſſary in a time when Mankind is too much looſened from ſevere Rules, to be kept cloſe up to them, Letters ſent only from Equal Men, doing Good Men right by giving Evidence in their behalf, offering them as fitly qualified, when they really are ſo, and freeing them from unjuſt Aſperſions, may be ſtill allowed.

The

The Letters I mean, are from Men of Power, where it may be beneficial to comply, and inconvenient to oppose.

Choice must not only be free from Force, but from Influence, which is a degree of Force: There must be no difficulty, no apprehension that a Refusal will be ill taken, or resented.

The Freeholders must be Freemen too; they are to have no Shackles upon their Votes in an Election: and the Men who stand, should carry their own Letters of Recommendation about them; which are their good Character and Behaviour in the World, without borrowing Evidence, especially when it comes from suspected hands.

Those who make use of these Epistles, ought to have no more advantage from them, than the *Muscovites* have from the Letters put into their hands, when they are buried, to recommend them to St. *Nicholas*.

The first should as little get admittance, for Men into the Parliament, as these Letters can introduce the Bearers into Heaven.

The Scandal of such Letters lieth first in the arrogant imposing of those that write them, and next in the wretched Meanness of those that need them.

Men must be fallen very low in their Credit, who upon such an occasion have

a recourse to Power to support it: Their Enemies could not give stronger Evidence of their not being fit for that which they pretend to. And if the Electors judge otherwise, they will be pretty sure in a little time to see their Mistake, and to repent it.

III. Non-Attendance in former Parliaments ought to be a Bar against the Choice of Men who have been guilty of it.

It is one of the worst kinds of Non-Residence, and the least to be excused: It is very hard that Men should despise a Duty, which perhaps is the only ground of the respect that is paid to them.

It is such a piece of Sawciness for any one to press for the Honour of serving in Parliament, and then to be careless in Attending it, that in a House where there were so many Officers, the Penalty had not been improper to have Cashier'd them for not appearing at the General Muster.

If men forbear to come out of Laziness, let them be gratified by taking their ease at Home without Interruption: If out of small Cunning to avoid Difficulties, and to escape from the Inconvenience of Voting in Critical Cases, let them enjoy that despicable pitch of Wisdom, and never pretend to make a Figure where the Publick is to be served.

If

If it would not be thought advisable to trust a Man immediately after he hath been drawn out of a Gaol, it may be as reasonable to look upon one who for his Non-attendance in the House hath been sent for in Custody, as a kind of Bankrupt, which putteth him upon unequal terms with those who have been assiduous in the discharge of their Duty.

They who thought fit in one Session to neglect the Publick Business, may be justly suspected, by their standing, in the next to intend their own.

Besides these more deliberate Offenders, there are some who do not Attend even when they are in the House; absent in their Thoughts for want of Comprehending the Business that is doing, and therefore diverted from it by any thing that is Trivial.

Such Men are Nusances to a serious Assembly; and when they are Numerous, it amounteth almost to a Dissolution; it being scarce possible for good sence to be heard, whilst a noise is made by the buzzing of these Horse flies.

The *Roman* Censors who degraded a Senator for yawning whilst there was a Debate, would have much more abundant matter here upon which they might exercise their Jurisdiction.

To

To conclude this Head, There are so few that ever mended in these Cases, that after the first Experiment it is not at all reasonable to take them upon a new Tryal.

IV. Men who are unquiet and busy in their Natures, are to give more than ordinary proofs of their Integrity, before the Electing them into a Publick Trust can be justified. As a hot Summer breedeth greater swarms of Flies, so an active time breedeth a greater number of these shining Gentlemen.

It is pretty sure, That men who cannot allow themselves to be at rest, will let no body else be at quiet. Such a perpetual Activity is apt by degrees to be applied to the pursuit of their private interest. And their thoughts being in a continual motion, they have not time to dwell long enough upon any thing to entertain a scruple.

So that they are generally at full liberty to do what is most convenient for them, without being fettered by any Restraints.

Nay further; Whenever it hapneth that there is an Impunity for Cheating, these nimble Gentlemen are apt to think it a disparagement to their Understandings not to go into it.

I doubt it is not a wrong to the present Age, to say, that a Knave is a less unpopular Calling than it hath been in former times. And to say truth, it would be ingratitude

gratitude in some Men to turn Honest, when they owe all they have to their Knavery.

The People are in this respect unhappy: they are too many to do their own business; their numbers, which make their strength, are at the same time the cause of their weakness; they are too unweildy to move; and for this Reason nothing can ever redeem them from this incurable Impotency: So that they must have Solicitors to pursue and look after their Interests; who are too often disposed to dispense with the Fidelity they owe to those that trust them; especially if the Government will pay their Bills without Abatement.

It is better these Gentlemen's dexterity should be employed any where than in Parliament, where the ill consequence of their being Members is too much diffused, and not restrained to the County or Borough who shall be so unwary as to Chuse them.

V. Great Drinkers are less fit to Serve in Parliament than is apprehended.

Men's Virtue, as well as their Understanding, is apt to be tainted by it.

The appearance of it is Sociable and well-natur'd, but it is by no means to be rely'd upon.

Nothing

Nothing is more frail than a Man too far engaged in wet Popularity.

The habit of it maketh Men careleſs of their buſineſs, and that naturally leadeth them into Circumſtances, that make them liable to Temptation.

It is ſeldom ſeen, That any Principles have ſuch a root, as that they can be proof againſt the continual droppings of a Bottle.

As to the Faculties of the Mind, there is not leſs Objection; the vapours of Wine may ſometimes throw out ſparks of Wit, but they are like ſcattered pieces of Ore, there is no Vein to work upon.

Such Wit, even the beſt of it, is like paying great Fines; in which caſe there muſt of neceſſity be an abatement of the conſtant Rent.

Nothing ſure is a greater Enemy to the Brain, than too much moiſture; it can the leaſt of any thing bear the being continually ſteeped: And it may be ſaid, that Thought may be reſembled to ſome Creatures which can live only in a dry Country.

Yet ſo arrogant are ſome men, as to think they are ſo much Maſters of Buſineſs, as that they can play with it; they imagine they can drown their Reaſon once a day, and that it ſhall not be the worſe for it; forgetting, that by too often diving the Underſtand-

ing at last groweth too weak to rise up again.

I will suppose this fault was less frequent when *Solon* made it one of his Laws, That it was Lawful to Kill a Magistrate if he was found Drunk. Such a Liberty taken in this Age, either in the Parliament or out of it, would do terrible Execution.

I cannot but mention a Petition in the year 1647. from the County of *Devon*, to the House of Commons, against the undue Election of Burgesses, who are strong in Wine and weak in Wisdom.

The cause of such Petitions is to be prevented by Chusing such as shall not give handle for them.

VI. Wanting-Men give such cause of suspicion where ever they deal, that surely the Chusers will be upon their guard, as often as such dangerous pretenders make their application to them.

Let the behaviour of such Men be never so plausible and untainted, yet they who are to pitch upon those they are to trust with all they have, may be excused, if they do not only consider what they are but what they may be.

As we Pray our selves we may not be led, into Temptation, we ought not by any means to thrust others into it; even though

though our own Interest was not concerned; and sure when it is, the Argument hath not less force.

If a Man hath a small Estate, and a numerous Family; where it happeneth often a Man hath as many Children as [illegible] Tenants, it is not a Recommending Circumstance for his Election.

When it cometh to be the Question with such a Man, Whether he shall be Just to the Publick, or Cruel to his Family? It is very possible the decision may be on the side of Corrupted Nature.

It is a Complement to this Age, which it doth not deserve, to suppose Men are so fenc'd up to Morality, as that they cannot be pinched out of it: especially now when it is called Starving not to be Embroidered, or served in Plate.

The Men Chosen to serve their Country, should not be loaden with Suits that may tempt them to assume Privileges; much less under such Necessities as may more immediately prepare them for Corruption.

Men who need a Parliament for their own particular Interest, have more reason to offer their Service than others have to accept of it. And though I do not doubt, but there may be some whose Virtue would

triumph over their Wants, let them be never so preſſing; yet to expoſe the Publick to the hazard of being deceived, is that which can never be juſtifi'd by thoſe that Chuſe. And tho it muſt be allow'd poſſible for a wanting Man to be honeſt, yet it is impoſſible for a Man to be wiſe that will depend upon it.

VII. There is a ſort of Men that have a Tinſel-wit, which make them ſhine among thoſe who cannot judge.

Club and Coffee-houſe Gentlemen, Petty Merchants of ſmall Conceits, who have an Empty habit of prating without meaning; They always aim at Wit and generally make falſe Fire.

Their buſineſs is leſs to learn, than to ſet themſelves out; which makes them chuſe to be with ſuch as can only be Witneſſes of their ſmall Ingenuity, rather than with ſuch as might improve it.

There is a ſubordinate Wit, as much inferior to a Wit of buſineſs, as a Fidler at a Wake is to the lofty Sound of an Organ.

Men of this Size are in no degree ſuited to the buſineſs of redreſſing Grievances, and making Laws.

There is a Parliament Wit to be diſtinguiſh'd from all other kinds; thoſe who have

have it, do not ſtuff their heads only with Cavils and Objections.

They have a deliberate and an obſerving Wit, a Head turned to Publick things; Men who place a greater pleaſure in mending a Fault than in finding it out.

Their Underſtanding directeth them to object in the right place, and hath those who go by no other Rule, than to conclude, That muſt be the beſt Counſel which was not taken.

Theſe Whole-ſale Judges ſhew ſuch a groſs and peeviſh Ignorance that it appeareth ſo openly in all they ſay or do, That they give loud warning to all conſidering men, not to chuſe them.

VIII. The diſlike of ſlight Airy Men muſt not go ſo far, as to recommend heavineſs in oppoſition to it, eſpecially where men are convicted of it by Experience in former Seſſions.

As a lively Coxcomb will ſeldom fail to lay in his claim for Wit; ſo a Blockhead is apt to pretend, That his heavineſs is a proof of his Judgment.

Some have an univerſal Lethargy ſpread upon their Underſtanding without exception; others have an Inſufficiency *quoad hoc*, as in ſome Caſes men have *quoad hanc*; Theſe laſt can never ſo turn their

thoughts to publick Business, as to give the attention that is necessary to Comprehend it.

There are those who have such a thick Shell upon their Brains, that their Ignorance is impenetrable, and maketh such a stiff resistance against Common Sense, that it will never be subdued by it: True Heart of Oak Ignorance that will never yield for Reason beat never so hard upon it. And though their kind Neighbours have at several Elections sent them up to School again, they have still return'd the same incurable Dunces.

There is a false Gravity that is a very ill symptom; and it may be said, That as Rivers, which run very slowly, have always the most Mud at the bottom; so a solid stiffness in the constant course of a man's Life, is a sign of a thick bed of Mud at the bottom of his Brain.

A dull man is so near a dead Man, that he is hardly to be ranked in the List of the Living; and as he is not to be buri'd whilst he is half alive, so he is as little to be imploy'd whilst he is half dead.

Parliaments are now known to be quite other things than they were formerly.

In Ancient Times they were little more than Great Assizes; A Roll of Grievances;

Magna

Magna Charta confirmed; Privileges of Holy Church preſerved; ſo many Sacks of Wool given, and away.

Now there are Traps and Gins laid for the well-meaning Country-Gentleman; he is to grapple with the Cunning of Men in Town, which is not a little improv'd by being rewarded and encouraged.

So that men whoſe good Intentions are not ſeconded and ſupported by ſome degree of Ability, are as much the more dangerous, as they are leſs criminal than Cunning Knaves. Their honeſt Miſtakes, for want of diſtinguiſhing, either give a Countenance to, or at leaſt leſſen the Scandal of the injurious things that are done to the Publick: and with leave ask'd for ſo odd an expreſſion, Their Innocent Guilt is as miſchievous to the Laws and Liberties, as the moſt deliberate Malice of thoſe that would deſtroy them.

IX. There is an Abuſe which daily increaſeth, of ſending ſuch to Parliament, as are ſcarce old enough to be ſent to the Univerſity.

I would not in this reſtrain the Definition of theſe Boys to the Age of Twenty One: If my Opinion might take place, I ſhould wiſh that none might be choſen into the Houſe of Commons under Thirty;

and to make some Equality, I should from the same Motives think it convenient, That no Lord should have a Vote in Judicature under that Age.

But to leave this Digression; I cannot see why the Chusers should not at least make it a Rule among themselves, Not to send any Man to Represent them under the Age of Twenty five, which is the time of Majority in most other places of the world.

Surely it is not that we are Earlier plants than our Neighbours.

Such supposition could neither be justified by our Climate, nor by the degree of Latitude in which we are placed; I must therefore attribute it to the haste our Ancestors had (and not without reason) to free themselves from the Severity of Wardships.

But whether this, or any thing else, was the cause of our earlier stepping into Man's Estate; so it is now, that according to our Laws, Twenty one is the Age of Discretion; and the Young Man is then vested with a Legal, how defective soever he may be in his Natural Understanding.

With all this, there ought to be a difference made between coming out of Pupilage, and leaping into Legislatorship.

If

It is perhaps inconvenient enough that a man ſhould be ſo ſoon let looſe to deſtroy his own Eſtate; but it is yet worſe, that he ſhould then have a Power of giving away other men's.

The Law muſt make General Rules, to which there always will be ſome Objections.

If there were Tryers appointed to judge when Leading-Strings ſhould be left off, many would wear them a very great while, and ſome perhaps with their Gray Hairs; there being no ſmall number of Old Boys in all times and eſpecially in this.

It is neceſſary therefore to make Exceptions to this General Rule, where the Caſe ſo much requireth it, as it doth in the matter in queſtion.

The ground of ſending theſe *Minors* to Parliament ought not to recommend the Continuance of it to thoſe who are Lovers of Liberty; ſince it was by the Authority and Influence of Great Men, that their Stripling Sons were firſt receiv'd by the humble depending Boroughs, or the complying Counties.

They called it, as many do ſtill, the beſt School for Young Men. Now Experience hath ſhew'd us, that it is like a School only in this reſpect, That theſe Youngſters

fters when they are admitted, deſerve to be whipp'd in it.

If the Houſe of Commons is a School, it muſt be for Men of riper Age; theſe are too young to learn there, and being elevated by a miſtaken ſmattering in ſmall Politicks, they grow too ſupercilious to learn any where elſe: ſo that inſtead of improving young promiſing Plants, they are deſtroy'd by being miſplac'd.

When they do themſelves hurt by it, it is ſure yet that they do the Houſe no good by coming into it.

They were not Grown Geeſe that are ſaid to have ſav'd the Capitol; they were certainly of full Age, or elſe their Cackling could not have been heard, ſo as to give warning.

Indeed it look'd of late, when the Faſhion was to have long continu'd Parliaments, as if we might plant a Boy in the Houſe with a Proſpect that he might continue there till he had Gray Hairs: And that the ſame Sapling might have ſuch a Root, as that he might grow up to be Timber without being remov'd.

If theſe Young Men had skill enough to pitch upon ſome Body in the Houſe, to whom they might reſign their Opinion, and upon whoſe Judgment they might lean without Reſerve, there might be leſs Objection.

But

But to ſpeak Truth, they know as little how to chuſe, as thoſe did who Elected them; ſo that there is no other Expedient left, than the letting them alone.

One may ſay, generally ſpeaking, That a young Man being too ſoon qualifi'd for the ſerious Buſineſs of Parliaments, would really be no good Symptom.

It is a ſign of too much Phlegm, and too little Fire in the beginning of Age, if Men have not a little more heat than is convenient; for as they grow older they will run a hazard of not having ſo much as is neceſſary.

The Truth is, The vigour of Youth is ſoften'd and miſapply'd, when 'tis not ſpent either in War or cloſe Studies; all other Courſes have an idle Mixture that cometh to nothing, and maketh them like Trees, which for want of Pruning run up to Wood, and ſeldom or never bear any Fruit.

To conclude this Head, it muſt be own'd, That there is no Age of our Life which doth not carry Arguments along with it to humble us: and therefore it would be well for the Buſineſs of the World, if young Men would ſtay longer before they went into it, and old Men not ſo long before they went out of it.

X. Next to these may be rank'd a sort of superfine Gentlemen, Carpet-Knights, Men whose Heads may be said to be only Appurtenances to their Perukes, which intirely ingross all their Care and Application.

There Understanding is so strictly appropriated to their Dress; that no part of it is upon pain of their utmost Displeasure to be diverted to any other use.

It is not by this intended to recommend an affected Clown, or to make it a necessary Qualification for a Member of Parliament, that he must renounce clean Linen or good Manners; but surely a too earnest Application to make every thing sit Right about them, striketh too deep into their small stock of Thoughts to allow it Furniture for any thing else.

To do Right to these fine-spun Gentlemen, Business is too course a thing for them, which maketh it an unreasonable Hardship upon them to oppress them with it; so that in tenderness to them, no less than out of care to the Publick, it is best to leave them to their Taylors with whom they will live in much better Correspondence, when the Danger is prevented of their falling out about Privileges.

XI. Men

XI. Men of Injuſtice and Violence, in their private Dealings, are not to be truſted by the People with a Commiſſion to treat for them in Parliament.

In the *4th of Edw.* 3. The King Commandeth in his Writs not to chuſe any Knights who had been Guilty of Crime, or Maintenance.

Theſe warm Men ſeldom fail to run into Maintenance, taken in a larger Extent.

It is an unnatural Sound to come from a Man that is arbitrary in his Neighbourhood, to talk of Laws and Liberties at *Weſtminſter*; he is not a proper Vehicle for ſuch Words, which ought never to be prophaned.

An habitual Breaker of the Laws, to be made one of the Law-makers, is as if the Benches in *Weſtminſter-hall* ſhould be filled with Men out of *Newgate*.

Thoſe who are of this Temper cannot change their Nature out of reſpect to their Countrey.

Quite contrary, they will leſs ſcruple to do Wrong to a Nation where no Body taketh it to himſelf, than to particular Men to whoſe Reſentments they are more immediately expoſed.

In ſhort they lie under ſuch ſtrong Objections, that the over-balance of better Men cannot altogether purify an Aſſembly

bly where these unclean Beasts are admitted.

XII. Excessive Spenders and unreasonable Savers are to be Excluded, being both greedy from differing Causes.

They are both of them Diseases of Infection, and for that Reason are not to be admitted into Publick Assemblies.

A prodigal Man must be, greedy because he thinketh he can never spend enough.

The Wretch must be so, because he will never think he can hoard enough.

The World first admireth Men's Wisdom for getting Money, and then raileth at them if they do not throw it away? so that the Prodigal Man is only the less unpopular Extreme; he is every jot as well prepared as the Miser to fall out with his Morals, when once a good Temptation is offered him to lay them aside.

On the other side, some Rich Men are as eager to overtake those that are Richer, as a Running horse is to get to the Race-post, before the other that contendeth with him.

Men often desire to heap, rather because others have more, than that they know what to do with that which they covet with so much impatience.

So that it is plain, the Fancy hath as great a share in this imaginary Pleasure of Gathering,

ring as it hath in Love, Ambition, or any other Paſſion.

It is pretty ſure, that as no Man was ever the Richer for having a good Eſtate, if he did not look after it; ſo neither will he be the Honeſter if he hath never ſo much.

Want of care will always create want of Money; ſo that whether a Man is a begger becauſe he never had any Money, or becauſe he can never keep any, it is all one to thoſe who are to truſt him.

Upon this head of Prodigality, it may be no unreaſonable Caution to be afraid of thoſe who in former Service have been extravagantly Liberal of the Publick Money.

Truſting is ſo hazardous a thing, that it ſhould never be done but where it is neceſſary; ſo that when Truſtees are found upon Tryal to be very Laviſh, even without examining into the Cauſes of it, (which are generally very ſuſpicious) it is a reaſonable part of preventing Wit to change Hands, or elſe the Chuſers will pay the Penalty that belongeth to good Nature ſo miſplaced, and the Conſequences will be attended with the Aggravation of their not being made Wiſer by ſuch a ſevere and coſtly warning.

XIII. It would be of very great uſe to take a general Reſolution throughout the Kingdom, That none ſhould be choſen for

a

a County but such as have either in Possession, or Reversion, a considerable Estate in it; nor for a Burrough, except he be Resiant, or that he hath some Estate in the County, in present or Expectancy.

There have been Eminent Men of Law who were of opinion, That in the Case of a Burgess of a Town not Resiant, the Court is to give Judgment according to the Statute, notwithstanding Custom to the contrary.

But not to insist now upon that, the prudential part is Argument enough to set up a Rule to abrogate an ill Custom.

There is not, perhaps, a greater Cause of the Corruption of Parliaments, than by adopting Members, who may be said to have no title by their Births.

The Juries are by the Law to be *Ex vicineto*; And shall there be less care that the Representatives of the People be so too?

Sure the Interest of the County is best placed in the hands of such as have some share in it.

The Outliers are not so easily kept within the pale of the Laws.

They are often chosen without being known, which is more like chusing Valentines, than Members of Parliament. The Motive

tive of their ſtanding is more juſtly to be ſuppoſed, that they may redreſs their own Grievances which they know, than thoſe of the Countrey, to which they are ſtrangers.

They are choſen at *London* to ſerve in *Cornwall*, &c. and are often Parties, before they come to be Repreſentatives: One would think the Reproach it is for a County not to have Men within their own Circle to ſerve them in Parliament, ſhould be Argument enough to reject theſe Treſpaſſers, without urging the ill Conſequences in other Reſpects of their being admitted.

XIV. As in ſome Caſes it is advisable to give a total exclusion to Men not fitly qualified; ſo in others it is more proper to lay down a general Rule of Caution, with allowance of ſome Exceptions, where Men have given ſuch proofs of themſelves, as create a Right for them to be diſtinguiſhed.

Of this nature is that which I ſhall ſay concerning Lawyers, who, by the ſame Reaſon that they may be uſeful, may be alſo very dangerous.

The Negligence, and want of Application in Gentlemen, hath made them to be thought more neceſſary than naturally they are in Parliament.

They have not only ingrossed the Chair of the Speaker, but that of a Committee is hardly thought to be well filled, except it be by a Man of the Robe.

This maketh it worthy of the more serious reflection of all Gentlemen, that it may be an Argument to them to qualify themselves in Parliamentary Learning, in such a manner, as that they may rely upon their own Abilities, in order to the serving their Country.

But to come to the point in question; It is not without Precedent, that Practising Lawyers have been excluded from serving in Parliament; and, without following those Patterns strictly, I cannot but think it reasonable, that whilst a Parliament sitteth, no Member of Parliament should plead at any Bar.

The Reason of it is in many respects strong in it self, and is grown much stronger by the long sitting of Parliaments of late; but I will not dwell upon this: The matter now in question being concerning Lawyers being Elected, which I conceive should be done with so much circumspection, that probably it would not often happen.

If Lawyers have great Practice, that ought to take them up; if not, it is no great

great ſign of their Ability; and at the ſame time giveth a ſuſpicion, that they may be more liable to be tempted.

If it ſhould be ſo in Fact, That no King ever wanted Judges to ſoften the ſtiffneſs of the Laws that were made, ſo as to make them ſuit better with the Reaſon of State, and the Convenience of the Government; it is no Injury now to ſuppoſe it poſſible for Lawyers in the Houſe of Commons, ſo to behave themſelves in the making of New Laws, as the better to make way for the having their Robes lined with Fur.

They are Men uſed to argue on both ſides of a Queſtion; And if ordinary Fees can inſpire them with very good Reaſons in a very ill Cauſe, that Faculty exerciſed in Parliaments, where it may be better encouraged, may prove very inconvenient to thoſe that chuſe them.

And therefore, without arraigning a Profeſſion, that it would be ſcandalous for a man not to honour; one may, by a Suſpicion, which is the more excuſable when it is in the behalf of the People, imagine that the habit of taking Money for their Opinion, may create in ſome ſuch a forgetfulneſs to diſtinguiſh, that they may take it for their Vote.

They are generally Men who by a laborious ſtudy hope to be advanced: They have it in their Eye as a Reward for the Toil they undergo.

This maketh them generally very ſlow, and ill diſpoſed (let the Occaſion never ſo much require it) to wreſtle with that Soil where Preferment groweth.

Now if the Suppoſition be in its ſelf not unreaſonable, and that it ſhould happen to be ſtrengthen'd and confirm'd by Experience, it will be very unneceſſary to ſay any more upon this Article, but leave it to the Electors to conſider of it.

XV. I cannot forbear to put in a Caveat againſt Men ty'd to a Party.

There muſt in every body be a Leaning to that ſort of Men who profeſs ſome Principles, more than to others who go upon a different Foundation; but when a man is drowned in a Party, plunged in it beyond his depth, he runneth a great hazard of being upon ill terms with good Senſe, or Morality, if not with both of them.

Such a man can hardly be called a Free-Agent, and for that reaſon is very unfit to be truſted with the Peoples Liberty, after he hath given up his own.

It is ſaid, That in ſome part of the *Indies* they do ſo affect little Feet, that they keep them

them squeezed while they are Children, so that they stay at that small size after they are grown Men.

One may say something like this of Men lock'd up in a Party: They put their Thoughts into such a Narrow Mould, that they can never be enlarged nor released from their first Confinements.

Men in a Party have *Liberty* only for their *Motto*; in reality they are greater Slaves than any body else would care to make them.

A Party, even in times of Peace, (tho against the Original Contract, and the Bill of Rights) sets up and continues the exercise of Martial Law: Once inrolled, the Man that quitteth, if they had their will, would be hanged for a Deserter.

They communicate Anger to one another by Contagion: And it may be said, that if too much Light dazzleth the Eyesight, too much Heat doth not less weaken the Judgment.

Heat reigneth in the Fancy; and Reason, which is a colder Faculty of the Brain, taketh more time to be heard, than the other will allow.

The Heat of a Party is like the Burning of a Fever; and not a Natural Warmth, evenly distributed to give Life and Vigor.

There was a time indeed when Anger shew'd a good sign of Honesty; but that Evidence is very much weakned by Instances we have seen since the Days of Yore: And the Publick spirited Choler hath been thrown off within time of Memory, and lost almost all its Credit with some People, since they found what Governments thought fit to make their so doing a step to their preferment.

A strong blustring Wind seldom continues long in one Corner.

Some men knock loud only to be let in; the Bustle they make is animated by their private Interest. The outward Blaze only is for Religion and Liberty: The true lasting Fire, like that of the Vestals which never went out, is an eagerness to get somewhat for themselves.

A House of Commons composed of such Men, would be more properly so many Merchants incorporated in a Regular Company, to make their particular Adventures, than Men sent from the People to serve and represent them.

There are some Splenetick Gentlemen who confine their favourable Opinion within so narrow a compass, that they will not allow it to any man that was not hanged in the late Reigns.

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Now by that rule one might expect they ſhould reſcue themſelves from the diſadvantage of being now alive; and by abdicating a World ſo little worthy of them, get a great Name to themſelves, with the general ſatisfaction of all thoſe they would leave behind them.

Amongſt the many other ill conſequences of a ſtated Party, it is none of the leaſt, that it tempteth low and inſignificant men to come upon the Stage, to expoſe themſelves, and to ſpoil Buſineſs.

It turneth a Cypher into a Figure, ſuch a one as it is: A man in a Party is able to make a noiſe, let it be never ſo empty a ſound.

A weak man is eaſily blown out of his ſmall ſenſes, by being muſter'd into a Party; he is flatter'd till he liketh himſelf ſo well, that he taketh it extremely ill if he hath not an Employment.

Nothing is more in faſhion, than for men to deſire good Places, and I doubt nothing is leſs ſo than to deſerve them.

From Nobody to ſomebody is ſuch a violent ſtride, that Nature, which hath the Negative Voice, will not give its Royal Aſſent to it: So that when inſufficient Men aim at being in buſineſs, the worſt of their Enemies might out of malice to them, pray for their Preferment.

There could be no end, if one did not ſtop till this Theme had no more matter to furniſh. I will only ſay, Nothing is more evident, than that the Good of the Nation hath been ſacrificed to the Animoſities of the ſeveral Contending Parties; and without entring into the diſpute which of them are more or leſs in the right, it is pretty ſure, that whilſt theſe Oppoſite Sets of Angry Men are playing at Foot-ball, they will break all the Windows, and do more hurt than their pretended Zeal for the Nation will ever make amends for.

In ſhort, a man ſo engaged is retained before the people take him for their Council; he hath ſuch a Reverſe for his Party, that it is not adviſeable for thoſe who would chuſe him, to depend upon his Profeſſions. All Parties aſſuming ſuch a Diſpenſing Power, that by their Sovereign Authority they cancel and diſſolve any Act or Promiſe that they do not afterwards approve.

Theſe things conſidered, thoſe who will chuſe ſuch men deſerve whatever followeth.

XVI. Pretenders to Exorbitant Merit in the late Revolution, are not without Objections againſt them, when they ſtand to ſerve in Parliament. It would not only be

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a low, but a Criminal kind of Envy, to deny a diſtinguiſhing Juſtice to Men who have been inſtrumental and active, when the Service of their Countrey requir'd it. But there ought to be Moderation in men's Claims, or elſe it is out of the Power of our poor Iſland to ſatisfy them. It is true, Service of all kinds is grown much dearer, like Labourer's Wages, which formerly occaſioned ſeveral Statutes to regulate them.

But now the men who only carried Morxar to the Building, when it is finiſhed, think they are ill dealt with if they are not made Maſter-Workmen.

They preſently cry out, The Original Contract is broken, if their Merit is not rewarded, at their own Rate too.

Some will think there never ought to be an end of their Rewards; when indifferent Judges would perhaps be puzzled to find out the beginning of their Merit.

They bring in ſuch large Bills, that they muſt be examin'd: Some bounds muſt be put to men's Pretenſions; elſe the Nation, which is to pay the Reckoning, will every way think it a ſcurvy thing to be undone, whether it be by being over-run by our Enemies, or by the being exhauſted by our Friends.

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There ought therefore to be deductions where they are reasonable, the better to justifie the paying what remaineth.

For example, if any of these passionate Lovers of the Protestant Religion should not think fit, in their manner of Living, to give the least evidence of their Morality, their claims upon that Head might sure be struck off without any Injustice to them.

If there are any who set down great Sums as a Reward due to their Zeal for rescuing Property from the Jaws of Arbitrary Power; their pretensions may fairly be rejected, if now they are so far from shewing a care and tenderness of the Laws, that they look rather like Councel retained on the other side.

It is no less strange, than I doubt it is true, that some Men should be so in Love with their dear Mistress, *Old England*, with all her Wrinkles, as out of an Heroick Passion to Swim over to rescue her from being Ravish'd; and when they have done the Feat, the first thing after Enjoyment is, that they go about to Strangle her.

For the sake of true Love, it is not fit that such ungentile Gallants should be too much encourag'd; and their Arrogance for having done well at first, will have no right to

to be excuſed, if their ſo doing ill at laſt doth not make them a little more modeſt.

True Merit, like a River, the deeper it is the leſs noiſe it makes.

Theſe loud proclaimers of their own Deſerts, are not only to be ſuſpected for their truth, but the Electors are to conſider that ſuch meritorious Men lay an aſſeſsment upon thoſe that Chuſe them.

The Publick Taxes are already heavy enough without the addition of theſe private Reckonings. It is therefore the ſafer way not to employ Men, who will expect more for their Wages, than the miſtaken Borough that ſendeth them up to Parliament could be ſold for.

XVII. With all due regard to the nobleſt of Callings, Military Officers are out of their true Element when they are miſplaced in a Houſe of Commons.

Things in this World ought to be well ſuited. There are ſome Appearances ſo unnatural, that men are convinc'd by them without any other Argument.

The very Habit in ſome Caſes, recommendeth or giveth Offence.

If the Judges upon the Bench ſhould, inſtead of their Furrs, which ſignifie Gravity, and beſpeak Reſpect, be Cloathed like the Jockeys at *New-Market*, or wear Jack-Boots and

and *Steenkirks*; they would not in reality have leſs Law, but Mankind would be ſo ſtruck with this unuſual Object, that it would be a great while before they could think it poſſible to receive Juſtice from Men ſo Accouter'd.

It is to ſome degree the ſame thing in this Caſe; ſuch Martial Habits, Blue-Coats, Red Stockings, *&c.* make them look very unlike Grave Senators. One would almoſt ſwear they were Creatures apart, and of a differing Species from the reſt of the Body.

In former times, when only the Reſiant Shopkeeper was to Repreſent his Corporation (which by the way is the Law ſtill at this day) the Military Looks of one of theſe Sons of *Mars*, would have ſtared the Quaking Member down again to his Burrough.

Now the number of them is ſo encreaſed, that the Peaceable part of the Houſe may lawfully ſwear they are in fear of their Lives, from ſuch an Awful Appearance of Men of War.

It maketh the Room look like a Guard-houſe by ſuch an ill-ſuited mixture. But this is only the out-ſide, the bark of the Argument; the root goeth yet deeper againſt Chuſing ſuch Men, whoſe Talents ought to be otherwiſe applied. Their

Their Two Capacities are ſo inconſiſtent, that Mens undertaking to ſerve both the Cures, will be the cauſe in a little time, that we ſhall neither have Men of War, nor Men of Buſineſs, good in their ſeveral kinds.

An Officer is to give up his Liberty to obey Orders; and it is neceſſarily incident to his Calling that he ſhould do ſo.

A Member of Parliament is originally to be tender of his own Liberty, that other Men may the better truſt him with theirs.

An Officer is to enable himſelf by his Courage, improved by Skill and Experience, to ſupport the Laws (if Invaded) when they are made; but he is not ſuppoſed to be at leiſure enough to underſtand how they ſhould be made.

A Member of Parliament is to fill his thoughts with what may beſt conduce to the Civil Adminiſtration; which is enough to take up the whole Man, let him be never ſo much raiſed above the ordinary Level.

Theſe two oppoſite Qualifications, being placed in one Man, make him ſuch an ambiguous divided Creature, that he doth not know how to move.

It is beſt to keep Men within their proper Sphere; few Men have Underſtanding enough

enough exactly to fill even one narrow Circle, fewer are able to fill two; especially when they are both of so great compass, and that they are so contrary in their own Natures.

The Wages he hath as a Member, and those he receiveth as an Officer, are paid for Services that are very differing; and in the doubt which of them should be preferrably performed, it is likely the greater Salary may direct him, without the further inducements of complying most, where he may expect most advantage by it.

In short, if his dependance is not very great, it will make him a scurvy Officer; if it is great, it will make him a scurvier Member.

XVIII. Men under the scandal of being thought private Pensioners, are too fair a mark to escape being consider'd, in reference to the point in Question.

In case of plain Evidence, it is not to be suppos'd possible, that Men convicted of such a Crime should ever again be Elected.

The difficulty is in determining what is to be done in case of suspicion.

There are suspicions so well grounded, that they may pretend to have the force of proofs, provided the penalty goeth only

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to the forbearing to Truſt, but not extending it ſo far as to Puniſh.

There muſt be ſome things plain and expreſs to juſtify the latter, but Circumſtances may be ſufficient for the former: As where Men have had ſuch ſudden Cures of their ill Humours, and oppoſition to the Court, that it is out of the way of ordinary methods of recovery from ſuch Diſtempers, which have a much ſlower progreſs; it muſt naturally be imputed to ſome Specifick that maketh ſuch a quick alteration of the whole Maſs of Blood.

Where Men have raiſed their way of Living, without any viſible means to ſupport them in it, a ſuſpicion is juſtified, even by the Example of the Law, which in caſes of this kind, though of an inferior nature, doth upon this foundation not only raiſe Inferences, but inflict Puniſhments.

Where Men are immoral, and ſcandalous in their Lives, and diſpenſe familiarly with the Rules by which the World is Govern'd, for the better preſerving the bonds of human Society; it muſt be a confidence very ill placed, to conclude it impoſſible for ſuch Men to yield to a Temptation well offer'd and purſu'd; when, the truth is, the habit of ſuch *Bons vivants*, which is the faſhionable word, maketh a ſuſpicion ſo likely,

likely, that it is very hard not to believe it to be true.

If there ſhould be nothing but the general Report, even that is not to be neglected.

Common Fame is the only Lyar that deſerveth to have ſome Reſpect ſtill reſerv'd to it; tho ſhe telleth many an Untruth, ſhe often hits right, and moſt eſpecially when ſhe ſpeaketh ill of men.

Her Credit hath ſometimes been carried too far, when it hath gone to the diveſting men of any thing of which they were poſſeſs'd, without more expreſs evidence to juſtify ſuch a proceeding.

If there was a doubt whether there ever was any Corruption of this kind it would alter the Queſtion; but ſure that will not bear the being controverted.

We are told, That *Charles* the Fifth ſent over into *England* 1200000 Crowns to be diſtributed amongſt the Leading Men, to encourage them to carry on Elections.

Here was the Proteſtant Religion to be bought out for a valuable Conſideration according to Law, though not according to Goſpel, which exalteth it above any Price that can be ſet upon it.

Now, except we had reaſon to believe that the Vertue of the World is improv'd ſince that time, we can as little doubt that

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such Temptations may be offered, as that they may be receiv'd.

It will be owed, that there is to be a great tenderness in Suspecting; but it must be allow'd at the same time, that there ought not to be left in Trusting, where the People are so much concern'd, especially, when the Penalty upon the Party suspected goeth no further than a Suspension of that Confidence, which it is necessary to have in those who are to represent the Nation in Parliament.

I cannot omit the giving a Caution against admitting Men to be chosen, who have Places of any value.

There needeth the less to be said upon this Article, the truth of the Proposition being supported by such plain Arguments.

Sure no Man hath such a plentiful spring of Thought, as that all that floweth from it is too much to be applied to the Business of Parliament.

It is not less sure, that a Member of Parliament, of all others, ought not to be exempted from the Rule, That no Man should serve two Masters.

It doth so split a Man's Thoughts, that no Man can know how to make a fitting Distribution of them to two such differing Capacities.

It exposeth Men to be suspected, and tempted, more than is convenient for the Publick Service, or for the mutual good Opinion of one another, which there ought to be in such an Assembly.

It either giveth a real dependance upon the Government, which is inconsistent with the necessity there is that a Member of Parliament should be disengaged, or at least it hath the appearance of it, which maketh them not look like Freemen, though they should have virtue enough to be be so.

More Reasons would lessen the Weight of this last, which is, That a Bill to this effect, commonly called the *Self Denying Bill*, pass'd even this last House of Commons.

A greater Demonstration of the irresistible strength of Truth cannot possibly be given, so that a Copy of that Bill in every County or Burrough, would hardly fail of discouraging such Pretenders from Standing, or at least it would prevent their Success if their own Modesty should not restrain them from attempting it.

XX. If Distinctions may be made upon upon particular Men, or Remarks fix'd upon their Votes in Parliament, they must be allow'd in relation to those Gentlemen, who for Reasons best known to themselves thought fit to be against the *Triennial Bill*.

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The Liberty of Opinion is the thing in the World that ought least to be controll'd, and especially in Parliament.

But as that is an undoubted Assertion, it is not less so, That when Men Sin against their own Light, give a Vote against their own Thought, they must not plead Privilege of Parliament against the being arraigned for it by others, after they are Convicted of it by themselves.

There cannot be a Man, who in his Definition of a House of Commons, will state it to be an Assembly, that for the better redressing of Grievances the People feel, and for the better furnishing such Supplies as they can bear, is to continue, if the King so pleaseth, for his whole Reign.

This could be a little amended, as to throw all into one Hand, and to renounce the Claim to any Liberty, but so much as the Sovereign Authority would allow.

It destroyeth the end of Parliaments, it maketh use of the Letter of the Law to extinguish the Life of it.

It is, in truth, some kind of Disparagement to so plain a thing, that so much has been said and written upon it; and one may say, It is such an Affront to these Gentlemens Understandings to censure this Vote only as a Mistake, that, as the Age goeth,

it is less Discredit to them to call it by its right Name; and if that is rightly understood by those who are to chuse them, I suppose they will let them exercise their Liberty of Conscience at home, and not make Men their Trustees, who in this Solemn Instance have such an unwillingness to surrender.

It must be own'd, That this Bill hath met with very hard Fortune, and yet that doth not in the least diminish the value of it.

It had in it such a Root of Life, that it might be said, It was not Dead but Sleeped: and we see that the last Session, it was revived and animated by the Royal Assent, when once fully inform'd of the Consequence, as well as of the Justice of it.

In the mean time, after having told my Opinion, Who ought not to be Chosen:

If I should be ask'd, Who ought to be, my Answer must be, Chuse *Englishmen*; and when I have said that, to deal honestly, I will not undertake that they are easy to be found.

A Rough Draught OF A NEW MODEL AT SEA, 1694.

LONDON:
Printed in the Year 1700.

A

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SEA, 1694.

I Will make no other Introduction to the following Diſcourſe, than that as the Importance of our being ſtrong at *Sea*, was ever very great, ſo in our preſent Circumſtances it is grown to be much greater; becauſe, as formerly our Force of

Shipping contributed greatly to our *Trade* and Safety. So, now it is become indiſpenſibly neceſſary to our very *Being*.

It may be ſaid now to *England*, *Martha*, *Martha*, thou art buſy about many things, but one thing is neceſſary to the Queſtion, What ſhall we do to be ſaved in this World? There is no other Anſwer but this, Look to your Moate.

The firſt Article of an *Engliſh-mans* Political Creed muſt be, That he believeth in the Sea, *&c.* without that there needed no General Council to pronounce him capable of Salvation here.

We are in an Iſland confin'd to it by God Almighty, not as a Penalty but a Grace, and one of the greateſt that can be given to Mankind. Happy Confinement that has made us Free, Rich, and Quiet; a fair Portion in this World, and very well worth the preſerving, a Figure that ever hath been envied, and could never be imitated by our Neighbours. Our Situation hath made Greatneſs abroad by Land-Conqueſts unnatural things to us. It is true, we made Excurſions, and glorious ones too, which make our Names great in Hiſtory, but they did not laſt.

Admit the *Engliſh* to be Giants in Courage, yet they muſt not hope to ſucceed in making

making War against Heaven, which seemeth to have enjoyned them to acquiesce in being happy within their own Circle. It is no Paradox to say, that *England* hath its Root in the Sea, and a deep one too, from whence it sendeth its Branches into both the *Indies*. We may say further in our present Case, That if *Allegiance* is due to *Protection*, ours to the Sea is due from that Rule, since by that, and by that alone, we are to be protected; and if we have of late suffered Usurpation of other Methods, contrary to the Homage we owe to that which must preserve us: It is time now to restore the *Sea* to its right; and as there is no Repentance effectual without Amendment, so there is not a moment to be lost in their going about it.

It is not pretended to launch into such a Voluminous Treatise, as to set down every thing to which so comprehensive a Subject might lead me; for as the Sea hath little less variety in it than the Land; so the Naval Force of *England* extendeth it self into a great many Branches, each of which are important enough to require a Discourse apart, and peculiarly applied to it: But there must be preference to some Consideration above others, when the weight of them is so visibly Superior that

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it cannot be contested. It is there, first, that the Foundations are to be laid of our Naval Oeconomy: amongst these, there is one Article which in its own Nature must be allowed to be the Corner-stone of the Building.

The Choice of *Officers*, with the *Discipline* and *Encouragement* belonging to them. Upon this Head only, I shall then take the liberty to venture my Opinion into the World, with a real Submission to those, who may offer any thing better for the advantage of the *Publick*.

The first Question then will be, Out of what sort of Men the *Officers* of the *Fleet* are to be chosen: and this immediately leadeth us to the present Controversy between the *Gentlemen* and the *Tarpaulins*.

The usual Objection on both sides are too general to be relied upon. Partiality and Common Prejudices direct most Mens Opinions, without entring into the particular Reasons which ought to be the ground of it. There is so much ease in acquiescing in Generals, that the Ignorance of those who cannot distinguish, and the Largeness of those who will not, maketh Men very apt to decline the trouble of stricter Enquiries; which they think too great a price for

for being in the right, let it be never ſo valuable.

This maketh them judge in the Lump, and either let their Opinions ſwim along with the Stream of the World, or give them up wholly to be directed by Succeſs. The effect of this is, that they change their Minds upon every preſent uneaſineſs, wanting a ſteady Foundation upon which their Judgment ſhould be formed. This is a pearching upon the Twigs of things, and not going to the Root. But ſure the Matter in queſtion deſerveth to be examined in another manner, ſince ſo much depend-eth upon it.

To ſtate the thing impartially, it muſt be owned that it ſeemeth to lye faireſt for the *Tarpaulin*: It giveth an Impreſſion that muſt have ſo much weight as to make a Man's Opinion lean very much on that ſide, it carrieth ſo much Authority with it, it ſeemeth to be ſo unqueſtionable, that thoſe are fitteſt to Command at Sea, who have not only made it their *Calling*, but their *Element*; that there muſt naturally be a prejudice to any thing then can be ſaid againſt it. There muſt therefore be ſome Reaſon extraordinary to ſupport the Argument on the other ſide, or elſe the Gentlemen could never enter the Liſts againſt

againſt ſuch a violent Objection, which ſeemeth not to be reſiſted. I will introduce my Argument with an Aſſertion, which as I take to be true almoſt in all Caſes, ſo it is neceſſary to be explained and inforced in this. The *Aſſertion* is, that there is hardly a ſingle Propoſition to be made, which is not deceitful, and the tying our Reaſon too cloſe to it, may in many Caſes be deſtructive. Circumſtances muſt come in, and are to be made a part of the Matter of which we are to judge; poſitive *Deciſions* are always dangerous, more eſpecially in *Politicks*. A Man, who will be Maſter of an Argument, muſt do like a skilful General, who ſendeth Scouts on all ſides, to ſee whether there may not be an Enemy. So he muſt look round to ſee what Objections can be made, and not go on in a ſtreight Line, which in the ready way to lead him into a miſtake.

Before then, that we conclude what ſort of Men are fitteſt to Command at Sea, a Principle is to be laid down, that there is a differing Conſideration to be had of ſuch a Subject-matter, as is in it ſelf diſtinct and independent, and of ſuch a one as being a Limb of a Body, or a Wheel of a Frame, there is a neceſſity of ſuiting it to the reſt,

and

and preserving the Harmony of the whole. A Man must not in that Case restrain himself to the seperate Consideration of that single Part, but must take care it may fall in and agree with the Shape of the whole Creature, of which it is a Member. According to this Proposition, which I take to be indisputable, it will not I hope appear an Affectation, or an extravagant Fit of unseasonable Politicks, if, before I enter into the particular State of the present Question, I say something of the Government of *England*, and make that the Ground-work of what sort of Men are most proper to be made use of to Command at Sea.

The Forms of Government to which *England* must be subjected, are either *Absolute Monarchy*, a *Commonwealth*, or a *Mixt Monarchy*, as it is now: with those natural Alterations that the Exegency of Affairs may from time to time suggest. As to Absolute Monarchy, I will not allow my self to be transported into such Invectives, as are generally made against it: neither am I ready to enter into the aggravating Stile of calling every thing *Slavery*, that restraineth Men in any part of their Freedom: One may discern in this, as in most other things, the good and bad of it. We see by too near an Instance, what *France* doth

doth by it; it doth not only ſtruggle with the reſt of *Chriſtendom*, but is in a fair way of giving Law to it.

This is owing in great Meaſure to a *Deſpotick* and Undivided Power; the uncontrouſable Authority of the Directive Councils maketh every thing move without Diſorder or Oppoſition, which muſt give an advantage, that is plain enough of it ſelf, without being proved by the melancholly Experience we have of it at this time.

I ſee and admire this; yet I conſider at the ſame time, that all things of this kind are comparative: That as on one ſide, without *Government* Men cannot enjoy what belongeth to them in particular, nor can a Nation be ſecure, or preſerve it ſelf in general: So on the other ſide, the end of *Government* being, that Mankind ſhould live in ſome competent State of Freedom, it is very unnatural to have the *End* deſtroyed by the *Means* that were originally made uſe of to attain it. In this reſpect ſomething is to be ventured, rather than ſubmit to ſuch a precarious State of Life, as would make it a Burthen to a reaſonable Creature; and therefore, after I have owned the Advantages in ſome kind of an unlimitted Government; yet, while they are attended

attended with so many other discouraging Circumstances, I cannot think but that they may be bought too dear; and if it should be so, that it is not possible for a *State* to be *Great* and *Glorious*, unless the Subjects are *wretchedly Miserable*. I am ashamed to own my low-spirited frailty, in preferring such a Model of Government, as may agree with the reasonable Enjoyment of a *Free People*, before such a one, by which Empire is to be extended at such an unnatural Price. Besides whatever Mens Opinions may be one way or another, in the general Question, there is an Argument in our Case that shutteth the Door to any Answer to it. (*Viz.*) We cannot subsist under a *Despotick* Power, our very Being would be destroyed by it; for we are to consider, we are a very little Spot in the Map of the World, and make a great Figure only by *Trade*, which is the Creature of Liberty; one destroyed, the other falleth to the Ground by a natural Consequence, that will not admit a dispute. If we would be measured by our Acres, we are poor inconsiderable People; we are exalted above our natural Bounds, by our good Laws, and our excellent Constitution. By this we are not only happy at Home, but considerable Abroad. Our Situation,

tuation, our Humour, our Trade, do all concur to ſtrengthen this Argument. So that all other Reaſons muſt give place to ſuch a one as maketh it out, that there is no Mean between a *Free Nation* and *No Nation*.

We are no more a People, nor *England* can no longer keep its Name from the moment that our Liberties are extinguiſh'd; the Vital Strength that ſhould ſupport us being withdrawn, we ſhould then be no more than the Carcaſs of a Nation, with no other Security than that of *Contempt*; and to ſubſiſt upon no other Tenure, than that we ſhould be below the giving Temptation to our ſtronger Neighbours to devour us. In my Judgment, therefore, there is ſuch a ſhort Deciſion to be made upon this Subject, that in Relation to *England*, an *Abſolute Monarchy* is as an unreaſonable thing to be wiſhed, as I hope it will be impoſſible to be obtained.

It muſt be conſidered in the next place, whether *England* likely is to be turn'd into a Commonwealth. It is hard at any time to determine what will be the Shape of the next Revolution, much more at this time would it be inexcuſably Arrogant to undertake it. Who can foreſee whether it will be from without, or from within, or

from

from hence? Whether with or without the Consciences of the People? Whether regularly produced, or violently imposed? I shall not therefore *Magisterially* declare it impossible that a *Commonwealth* should be settled here; but I may give my humble Opinion, that according to appearances, it is very improbable.

I will first lay it down for a Principle, That it is not a sound way of arguing, to say, That if it can be made out, that the Form of a *Commonwealth* will best suit with the Interest of the Nation, it must for that reason of necessity prevail.

I will not deny but that *Interest* will not lie, is a right *Maxim*, where ever it is found to be understood; else one shall as good affirm, That no Man's particular, nor Mankind in general, can ever be mistaken. A Nation is a great while before they can see, and generally they must feel first before their Sight is quite cleared. This *maketh* it so long before they can see their *Interest*, that for the most part it is too late for them to pursue it. If Men must be supposed always to follow their true *Interest*, it must be meant of a New Manufactory of Mankind by God Almighty; there must be some new *Clay*, the old *Stuff* never yet made any such infallible Creature.

This being premis'd, it is to be inquir'd Whether inſtead of inclination, or a leaning towards a *Commonwealth*, there is not in *England* a general diſlike to it; if this be ſo, as I take it to be, by a very great diſparity in Numbers: it will be in vain to diſpute the *Reaſon*, whilſt *Power* is againſt it, allowing the weight that's due to the Argument, which may be alledged for it; yet if the *Power* is againſt it, the going about to convince them, would have no other effect than to ſhew that nothing can be more impertinent than good *Reaſons*, when they are miſplaced or ill-timed.

I muſt obſerve, That there muſt be ſome previous Diſpoſitions in all great Changes to facilitate and to make way for them. I think it not at all abſurd, I affirm, That ſuch Reſolutions are ſeldom made at all, except by the general Preparations of Mens Minds they are half made before, and it is plainly viſible, that Men go about them.

Though it ſeemeth to me that the Argument alone maketh all others unneceſſary, yet I muſt take notice that beſides what hath been ſaid upon this Subject, there are certain Preliminaries to the firſt building a *Commonwealth*. Some Materials abſolutely neceſſary for the carrying on ſuch a *Fabrick*, which at preſent are wanting amongſt us, I mean

[illegible] *Virtue*, *Morality*, *Diligence*, or at [illegible] *Hypocrisy*. Now this Age is so plain dealing, as not to dissemble so far as to an outward Pretence of *Qualities* which seem at present so *Unfashionable*, and under so much Discountenance.

From hence we may draw a plain and natural Inference, that a *Commonwealth* is not fit for us, because we are not fit for a *Commonwealth*.

This being granted, the Supposition of this Form of Government of *England*, with all its Consequences as to the present Question, must be excluded, and *Absolute Monarchy* having been so too by the Reasons at once alledged, it will without further Examination fall to a *Mixt Government*, as we now are. I will not say, that there is never to be any Alteration; the Constitution of the several Parts that concur to make up the Frame of the present Government, may be altered in many things, in some for the better, and in others, perhaps for the worse, according as Circumstances shall arise to induce a *Change*; and as Passion and Interest shall have more or less Influence upon the Publick Councils; but still, if it remaineth in the whole so far a *mixt Monarchy*, that there shall be a restraint upon the *Prince*, as to the Exercise

of a *Despotick Power*, it is enough to make it a Groundwork for the present Question. It appeareth then that a *hereditary Monarchy* is that kind of Government which will most probably prevail and continue in *England*; from whence it may follow (as hath been hinted before) that every considerable Part ought to be so constituted, as the best to conduce to the preserving the Harmony of the whole Constitution. The *Navy* is of so great Importance, that it would be disparaged by calling it less than the *Life* and *Soul* of Government.

Therefore to apply the Argument to the Subject we are upon; in case the *Officers* be all *Tarpaulins*, it would be in reality too great a tendency to a *Commonwealth*; such a part of the Constitution being *Democratically* disposed may be suspected to endeavour to bring it into that Shape; where the influence would be so strong, and the Supposition will be the more justifiable. In short, if the *Maritim Force*, which is the only thing that can defend us, should be wholly directed by the lower Sort of Men, with an intire Exclusion of the *Nobility* and *Gentry*; it will not be easy to answer the Arguments supported by so great a probability, that such a Scheme would not only lean toward a *Democracy*, but directly lead us into it.

Let

Let us now examine the contrary Proposition, (*viz.*) *that all Officers should be Gentlemen.*

Here the Objection lieth so far of its introducing an *Arbitrary Government*, that it is little to be considered in that respect, as the former is in the other. *Gentlemen* in a general Definition, will be suspected to lie more than other Men, under the Temptations of being made Instruments of unlimited Power; their Relations, their Way of Living, their Taste of the Entertainments of the *Court*, inspire an Ambition that generally draweth their Inclinations toward it, besides the gratifying of their Interests. Men of Quality are often taken with the Ornaments of Government, the Splendor dazleth them so, as that their Judgments are surprized by it; and there will be always some that have so little remorse for invading other Mens Liberties, that it maketh them less solicitous to preserve their own.

These things throw them naturally into such a dependance as might give a dangerous Bias; if they alone were in Command at Sea, it would make that great Wheel turn by an irregular Motion, and instead of being the chief means of preserving the whole

Frame, might come to be the chief Instruments to discompose and dissolve it.

The two further exclusive Propositions being necessarily to be excluded in this Question; there remaineth no other Expedient; neither can any other Conclusion be drawn from the Arguments as it hath been stated, than that there must be a mixture in the Navy of *Gentlemen* and *Tarpaulins*, as there is in the Constitution of the Government, of *Power* and *Liberty*. This Mixture is not to be so rigorously defined, as to set down the exact Proportion there is to be of each; the greater or lesser Number must be directed by Circumstances, of which the Government is to Judge, and which makes it improper to set such Rounds, as that upon no occasion it shall on either side be lessened or enlarged. It is possible the Men of *Wapping* may think they are injured, by giving them any Partners in the Dominion of the *Sea*; they may take it unkindly to be jostled in their own *Element* by Men of such a different Education, that they may be said to be of another Species; they will be apt to think it an Usurpation upon them, and notwithstanding the Instances that are against them, and which give a kind of Prescription on the other

side,

side, they will not easily acquiesce in what they conceive to be a hardship to them.

But I shall in a good measure reconcile my self to them by what follows; (*viz.*) The *Gentlemen* shall not be capable of bearing Office at *Sea*, except they be *Tarpaulins* to; that is to say, except they are so trained up by a continued habit of living at *Sea*, that they may have a Right to be admitted free *Denizens* of *Wapping*. Upon this dependeth the whole Matter; and indeed here lieth the difficulty, because the *Gentlemen* brought up under the Connivance of a looser Discipline, and of an easier admittance, will take it heavily to be reduced within the *Fetters* of such a *New Model*; and I conclude, they will be extreamly averse to that which they call an unreasonable Yoke upon them, that their Original Consent is never to be expected. But if it appeareth to be convenient, and which is more, that it is necessary for the Preservation of the whole, that it should be so; the Government must be call'd in Aid to suppress these first Boilings of Discontent; the Rules must be imposed with such Authority, and the Execution of them must be so well supported, that by degrees their Impatience will be subdued, and they will concur

in an Eſtabliſhment to which they will every day be more reconciled.

They will find it will take away the Objections which are now thrown upon them, of ſetting up for Maſters without having even been Apprentices; or at leaſt, without having ſerved out their Time.

Mankind naturally ſwelleth againſt Favour and Partiality; their belief of their own Merit maketh Men object them to a proſperous Competitor, even when there is no pretence for it; but when there is the leaſt handle offered, to be ſure it will be taken. So, in this Caſe, when a *Gentleman* is preferr'd at *Sea*, the *Tarpaulin* is very apt to impute it to Friend or Favour: But if that *Gentleman* hath before his Preferment paſſed through all the Steps which lead to it, that he ſmelleth as much of *Pitch* and *Tar*, as thoſe that were *Swadled* in *Sail-Cloath*; his having an *Eſcutcheon* will be ſo far from doing him harm, that it will ſet him upon the advantage Ground: It will draw a real Reſpect to his Quality when ſo ſupported, and give him an Influence, and and Authority infinitely ſuperior to that which the *meer Sea men* can ever pretend to.

When

When a *Gentleman* hath learned how to *Obey*, he will grow very much fitter to *Command*; his own Memory will advise him not to inflict too rigorous Punishments. He will better resist the Temptations of Authority (which are great) when he reflecteth how much he hath at other times wished it might be gently exercised, when he was liable to the Rigour of it.

When the undistinguish'd *Discipline* of a Ship hath tamed the young Master-ship, which is apt to arise from a *Gentleman's* birth and Education. He then groweth Proud in the right place, and valueth himself first upon knowing his Duty, and then upon doing it.

In plain *English*, Men of *Quality* in their several Degrees must either restore themselves to a better Opinion, both for *Morality* and *Diligence*, or else *Quality* it self will be in danger of being extinguished.

The Original *Gentleman* is almost lost in strictness, when Posterity doth not still further adorn by their Virtue. The Escutcheon their Ancestors first got for them by their Merit, they deserve the Penalty of being deprived of it.

To expect that *Quality* alone should waft Men up into *Places* and *Employments*, is as unreasonable, as to think that a Ship, because

because it is Carved and Gilded, should be fit to go to *Sea* without *Sails* or *Tackling*. But when a *Gentleman* maketh no other use of his *Quality*, than to incite him the more to his Duty, it will give such a true and settled *Superiority*, as must destroy all Competition from those that are below him.

It is time now to go to the Probationary Qualifications of an *Officer* at *Sea*: And I have some to offer, which I have digested in my Thoughts, I hope impartially, that they may not be Speculative Notions, but things easy and practicable, if the directing Powers will give due Countenance and Incouragement to the Execution of them: But whilst I am going about to set them down, though this little *Essay* was made to no other *End*, than to introduce them, I am upon better Recollection, induced to put a restraint upon my self, and rather retract the Promise I made at the beginning, than by advising the particular Methods, by which I conceive the good *End* that is aimed at may be obtained, to incur the Imputation of the thing of the World, of which I would least be guilty, which is of anticipating, by my private Opinion, the Judgment of the *Parliament*, or seeming out of my slender Stock of Reason to dictate to the Supream Wisdom of the Nation.

tion. They will, no doubt, consider the present Establishments for *Discipline* at *Sea*, which are many of them very good, and if well executed, might go a great way in the present Question. But I will not say they are so perfect, but that other may be added to make them more effectual, and that some more Supplemental Expedients may be necessary to compleat what is yet defective: And whenever the *Parliament* shall think fit to take this Matter into their Consideration, I am sure they will not want for their Direction, the Auxiliary Reasons of any Man without Doors, muchless of one, whose Thoughts are so intirely and unaffectedly resigned to whatever they shall determine in this, or any thing else relating to the Publick.

MAXIMS

MAXIMS OF STATE.

By a late Person of Honour.

LONDON:
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MAXIMS OF STATE.

1. THAT a Prince who falleth out with *Laws*, breaketh with his beſt *Friends*.

2. That the exalting his own *Authority* above his *Laws*, is like letting in his *Enemy* to ſurprize his *Guards*: The *Laws* are the only Guards he can be ſure will never run away from him.

3. A *Prince* that will ſay he can do no Good, except he may do every thing; teacheth the People to ſay, They are *Slaves*, if they muſt not do whatever they have a mind to.

4. That

4. That *Power* and *Liberty* are like *Heat* and *Moisture*; where they are well mixt every thing prospers; where the one single they are destructive.

5. That *Arbitrary Power* is like most other things, that are very hard, they are also very apt to break.

6. That the profit of Places should be measured as they are more or less conducing to the *Publick Service*; and if Business is more necessary than Splendor, the Instrument of it ought in Proportion to be better paid: that the contrary Method is as impertinent, as it would be to let the Carving of a Ship cost more than all the rest of it.

7. That where the least useful part of the People have the most Credit with the *Prince*, Men will conclude, That the way to get every thing, is to be good for nothing.

8. That an extravagant Gift to one Man, raiseth the Market to every body else; so that in consequence, the unlimited Bounty of an unthinking Prince maketh him a *Beggar*, let him have never so much *Money*.

9. That if ordinary Beggars are *whip'd*, the daily Beggars in fine Cloaths (out of a proportionable Respect to their Quality) ought to be *hanged*.

10. That

10. That *Pride* is as good a Beggar as *Want*, and a great deal more Sawcy.

11. That a *Prince*, who will give more to Importunity than Merit, had as good set out a Proclamation to all his Loving Subjects, forbidding them to do well, upon the penalty of being undone by it.

12. That a wise *Prince* will not oblige his *Courtiers*, who are *Birds of Prey*, so as to disoblige his *People*, who are *Beasts* of *Burthen*.

13. That it is safer for a *Prince* to Judge of *Men* by what they do to one another, than that they do to him.

14. That it is a gross Mistake to think, That a *Knave* between Man and Man, can be honest to a *King*, whom of all other Men generally they make the least Scruple to deceive.

15. That a *Prince* who can ever trust the *Man* that hath once deceived him, loseth the *Right* of being Faithfully dealt with by any other *Person*.

16. That it is not possible for a *Prince* to find out such an *Honest Knave*, as will let no body else *Cheat* him.

17. That if a *Prince* does not shew an Aversion to *Knaves*, there will be an Inference that will be very Natural, let it be never so Unmannerly.

18. That a *Prince* who followeth his own Opinion too soon, is in danger of repenting it too late.

19. That it is less dangerous for a *Prince* to mind too much what the *People* say, than too little.

20. That a *Prince* is to take care that the greater part of the People may not be angry at the same time; for though the first beginning of their *Ill Humour* should be against one another, yet if not stopt, it will naturally end in *Anger* against him.

21. That if *Princes* would *Reflect* how much they are in the Power of their *Ministers*, they would be more circumspect in the *Choice* of them.

22. That a wise *Prince* will support good Servants against Mens Anger, and not support ill ones against their Complaint.

23. That *Parties* in a *State* generally, like *Freebooters*, hang out *False Colours*; the pretence is the *Publick Good*; the real *Business* is, to catch *Prizes*; like the *Tartars*, where-ever they succeed, instead of Improving their *Victory*, they presently fall upon the *Baggage*.

24. That a *Prince* may play so long between *Two Parties*, that they may in time join together, and be in earnest with him.

25. That

25. That there is more *Dignity* in open *Violence*, than in the [illegible] *Cunning* of a *Prince*, who goeth about to *Impose* upon the *People*.

26. That the *People* will ever ſuſpect the *Remedies* for the *Diſeaſes* of the *State*, where they are wholly excluded from ſeeing how they are prepared.

27. That changing *Hands* without changing *Meaſures*, is as if a *Drunkard* in a *Dropſey* ſhould change his *Doctors*, and not his *Dyet*.

28. That a *Prince* is to watch that his *Reaſon* may not be ſo ſubdued by his *Nature*, as not to be ſo much a *Man* of *Peace*, as to be juſt in an *Army*; nor ſo much a *Man* of *War*, as to be out of his *Element* in his *Counſel*.

29. That a *Man* who cannot mind his own *Buſineſs*, is not to be truſted with the *King's*.

30. That *Quality* alone ſhould only ſerve to make a ſhew in the Embroidered Part of the *Government*; but that *Ignorance*, though never ſo well born, ſhould never be admitted to ſpoil the *Publick Buſineſs*.

31. That he who thinks his *Place* below him, will certainly be below his *Place*.

32. That when *Princes Examples* ceaſeth to have the force of a *Law*, it is a ſure

ſign that his *Power* is waſting, and that there is but little diſtance between *Men's* neglecting to *Imitate*, and their refuſing to *Obey*.

33. That a *People* may let a *King* fall, yet ſtill remain a *People*; but if a *King* let his *People* ſlip from him, he is no longer *King*.

ADVER-

ADVERTISEMENT.

SInce the Death of the Ingenious Tranſlator of theſe Eſſays, an imperfect Tranſcript of the following Letter was intended for the Preſs, but having the good fortune to meet with a more correct Copy, I thought my ſelf under a neceſſity of Publiſhing it with this Third Edition, not only to do Juſtice to his Memory, but to the Great Perſon he Choſe for his Patron.

M. G.

A Letter sent by his Lordship to Charles Cotton, *Esq; upon his New Translation and Dedication of* Montaigne's *Essays.*

SIR.

I have too long delay'd my *Thanks* to you for giving me such an obliging *Evidence* of your *Remembrance*: That alone would have been a welcome *Present*, but when join'd with the *Book* in the World I am the best entertain'd with, it raiseth a strong desire in me to be better *known*, where I am sure to be so much *pleased*. I have till now thought *Wit* could not be *Translated*, and do still retain so much of that Opinion, that I believe it impossible, except by one whose *Genius* comes up to that of the *Author*. You have so kept the Original *Strength* of his *Thought*, that it almost tempts a Man to believe the *Transmigration* of *Souls*, and that his being us'd to *Hills*, is come into the *Moore-Lands* to Reward us here in *England*, for doing him more

more Right than his *Country* will afford him. He hath by your means mended his first *Edition*. To transplant and make him *Ours*, is not only a Valuable *acquisition* to us, but a just *Censure* of the Critical *Impertinence* of those *French Scribblers* who have taken pains to make little *Cavils* and *Exceptions*, to lessen the Reputation of this great *Man*, whom Nature hath made too big to Confine himself to the Exactness of a Studied Stile. He let his *Mind* have its full *Flight*, and sheweth by a generous kind of *Negligence* that he did not Write for Praise, but to give to the World a true Picture of himself and of Mankind. He scorned *affected Periods*, or to please the mistaken Reader with an empty *Chime* of *Words*. He hath no *Affectation* to set himself out, and dependeth wholly upon the *Natural Force* of what is his own, and the Excellent Application of what he borrow-

You see, Sir, I have kindness enough for *Monsieur de Montaigne* to be your *Rival*, but no Body can pretend to be in equal Competition with you: I do willingly yield which is no small matter for a Man to do to a more prosperous *Lover*: and if you will repay this piece of Justice with another,

pray

[illegible] who can *Trouble* [illegible] an *Author* without doing him [illegible] not only make me [illegible] but *Proud* of being his

Very humble Servant,

Halifax.

FINIS.